

TIAL FILE

CF.
United Nations

JUL 15 1946

My dear Mr. President:

You will recall that on July 11 we sent a telegram to the Secretary in Paris in which we informed him that in our opinion the United States should vote in favor of the admission of Trans-Jordan into the United Nations and asked for his concurrence. In that telegram we stated that it would be necessary for us to establish without delay our attitude in the matter and that we were sending a memorandum to you requesting your views.

I am attaching hereto a memorandum which discusses in some detail various factors involved in the problem and sets forth the considerations which cause the Department to feel that it would be in our national interests to support the application of Trans-Jordan for membership in the United Nations.

I would appreciate it if you would let me know whether you approve the course of action which the Department suggests. The matter may come up for discussion before the Security Council Committee on Membership within the next few days.

Faithfully yours,

"Approved

Harry S. Truman"

DEAN ACHESON

Acting Secretary

Enclosure:

Memorandum for the President

The President,

The White House.

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 11652, Sec. 149 and 150 (1)
DATE 10/14/94 BY 2073
EX-117 HSC-1000-22-6-70

Original Returned
for Preservation

The British Government apparently also takes the position that it was not obligated by Articles 77 and 80 of the United Nations Charter, quoted above, to consult the United Nations before granting independence to Trans-Jordan, since it was not the intent of these articles to make it compulsory for a power holding a Class A mandate to obtain the consent of the United Nations before granting independence to the territories held under mandate, nor was it compulsory for such a power to place such mandated territories under the trusteeship system. British officials point out in this connection that in Article 77 the word "may" was used rather than "shall" or "must"--in other words, powers holding mandates could decide for themselves whether or not they wished to transfer territories from the mandate system to the trusteeship system. They also emphasize the fact that although Great Britain did not feel that it was obligated to obtain the consent of the United Nations to the granting of independence to Trans-Jordan, nevertheless it did seek the approval of the General Assembly of the United Nations to granting independence to Trans-Jordan and received such approval.

It seems to the Department that in the absence of precedents, and in view of the possibility of various interpretations being placed upon the language used in the Mandate, in the American-British Convention, and in other pertinent documents, the Zionists can produce plausible arguments in favor of their position. The Department is of the opinion, however, that the position of the British from the legal point of view is the more sound. The Department also feels that in making its decision, the Government of the United States should consider the factual and international political aspects of the problem, not solely those of a legalistic nature.

Among these considerations are the following:

- 1) Trans-Jordan has been a separate and autonomous part of the Palestine Mandate since 1922, and those provisions of the Mandate which related to the Jewish national home have never been applied to territory East of the Jordan. The development

of Trans-Jordan

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, Sec. 105 and 106 or 110

D.P. of 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947

EXEMPT FROM DECLASSIFICATION

- 2 -

Trans-Jordan.

Zionist leaders desire the United States to take the position that the Government of Great Britain has acted illegally and unilaterally in granting independence to Trans-Jordan. They urge that the United States refuse to recognize Trans-Jordan as an independent country, and oppose the admission of Trans-Jordan into the United Nations. They insist that Great Britain, in recognizing the independence of Trans-Jordan, has violated the terms of the Palestine Mandate received from the League of Nations; that it has violated certain obligations contained in the American-British Convention relating to Palestine of December 1924, and that it failed to observe certain stipulations in the Charter of the United Nations.

Article 27 of the Mandate for Palestine provides that:

"the consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this Mandate."

Article 5 of the Mandate provides that:

"the Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that no Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased to, or in any way placed under the control of the Government of any foreign Power."

Article 2 of the American-British Palestine Mandate Convention provides that:

"The United States and its nationals shall have and enjoy all the rights and benefits secured under the terms of the mandate to members of the League of Nations and their nationals, notwithstanding the fact that the United States is not a member of the League of Nations."

Article 7 of this Convention provides that:

"Nothing contained in the present convention

shall

The Zionists

~~SECRET~~

- 4 -

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 3(D) or (G)

D. of Sec. Ex. 1, Aug. 9, 1973

NY NLT-1111, NARS Date 7-5-76

The Zionists take the view that the intent of the articles of the United Nations Charter above quoted was to place Governments holding mandates under the same obligations to the United Nations as they had to the League of Nations.

The British position is substantially as follows:

Since the Council of the League of Nations no longer existed, it was not possible for the British Government to approach the Council with regard to its plan to recognize the independence of Trans-Jordan. The British Government did, however, endeavor, so far as circumstances permitted, to carry out its obligations to the League of Nations by presenting the matter to the Final Session of the League of Nations Assembly in April of this year. The members of the Assembly of the League passed unanimously a resolution welcoming the termination of the mandated status of Trans-Jordan. The British Government also points out that in February of the present year its representative announced to the General Assembly of the United Nations the British intention to grant independence to Trans-Jordan and that the General Assembly passed unanimously a resolution welcoming this announcement. The British Government takes the position that since the American representation to the General Assembly voted for this resolution, and since the American Government has not registered any objection to the granting of independence to Trans-Jordan, the British Government may assume that the United States Government has no objection thereto. Although the British Government has not so stated, it apparently takes the view that in any event it was not obligated by the American-British Palestine Convention to consult the American Government before granting independence to Trans-Jordan. The British attitude in this respect seems to be that since the granting of independence to Trans-Jordan was the fulfilment of the original purpose of the mandate, it should not be regarded as a modification of the terms of the mandate. The British Government does not feel that it has obligated itself to consult the United States in advance before carrying out the purposes of the mandate.

The British



SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

E. O. 11652, Sec. 1(E) and 1(D) or (E)

D.P. of Sec. Exec. Aug. 9, 1971

E-FILE 44-38861-2-8-76

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Position of United States with Respect to Admission of Trans-Jordan to United Nations.

The Kingdom of Trans-Jordan, which was recognized by the British Government as an independent country on March 22 of this year, has applied for membership in the United Nations and the question has arisen as to whether or not the delegate of the United States to the Security Council should be instructed to vote for its admission. The decision which the United States Government takes with regard to this matter is certain to have considerable repercussions, both of a domestic and an international character.

Most of the Zionists and the supporters in the United States of extreme Zionism are opposed to the recognition of Trans-Jordan as an independent country and, therefore, to the admission of Trans-Jordan into the United Nations. On the other hand, Great Britain and the Arab world are extremely anxious that the application of Trans-Jordan for admittance shall not be rejected.

The Zionists and their supporters are in general opposed on political grounds to the recognition of Trans-Jordan as an independent country. Some of them desire to use the recognition of the independence of Trans-Jordan as a bargaining medium in order to obtain better terms from the Arabs with regard to Palestine. The more extreme Zionists have always hoped that Trans-Jordan would eventually be included in a greater Jewish state which would embrace both sides of the River Jordan and, therefore, are opposed to a non-Jewish, independent

2) Great Britain has gone so far in setting up and recognizing an independent Kingdom of Trans-Jordan that it is not now possible for it to change its policy in this respect. Great Britain, therefore, apparently has no choice other than to support the application of Trans-Jordan for admission into the United Nations. If the United States should oppose the admission of Trans-Jordan, a rift would take place between Great Britain and the United States in the Middle East with a resultant weakening of the position of the Western Powers and a decline of Western influence in that area. Such a development would be extremely unfortunate in the present world situation.

3) The government of the United States may find it expedient to vote reluctantly for the admission into the United Nations of Albania and Outer Mongolia, countries which have no greater degree of independence than Trans-Jordan. The Philippines and India are already members of the United Nations. It would be difficult to explain to the Arab world why the United States in such circumstances should oppose the admission of Trans-Jordan, which is a member in good standing of the Arab League. In this connection, it might be pointed out that the British Embassy has furnished the Department with a paraphrase of instructions issued to Sir Alexander Cadogan on this subject. This paraphrase reads in part as follows:

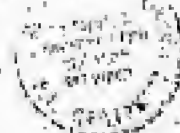
"We note that the US Government apparently think they will have to vote for Outer Mongolia in the last resort. Transjordan, whose territory and record is open to all the world is surely a more respectable candidate than Outer Mongolia, which is a quite unknown factor, and with

Abstract

- 7 -

whom western states have not hitherto been allowed to have any dealings. We think it would be deplorable if Outer Mongolia were admitted and Transjordan were not, and that this would incidentally encourage the Soviet Government to put up a Constituent Republic next year as their price for agreeing to Transjordan."

In view of the above considerations and of the over-riding political necessity of maintaining the peace and stability of the Middle East, it is recommended that the delegate of the United States be instructed to vote for the admission of Trans-Jordan to the United Nations.



DECLASSIFIED

2. 13, 11C12, Sec. 100 and 101 of (P)

Dept. of State, June 9, 1977

1. 11C12, Sec. 100 and 101 of (P)

85-6

April 18, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Rank of Minister for Isedor Lubin

Mr. Isedor Lubin has been appointed the United States Representative on the Allied Reparations Commission which is to be established in Moscow. President Roosevelt gave him the personal rank of Minister.

I shall appreciate knowing whether you wish Mr. Lubin to continue having the personal rank of Minister.

E. A. Tamm, Jr.

K20

I don't want him to go at this time
A.S.T.
4-19-45

note to State 4-19-45

COPY

85-6

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington

May 16, 1945

7

Mr. William Barnes
States Department
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Barnes:

I am returning herewith the commission. I should appreciate your having it changed to read as follows:

"I do hereby designate him to serve as the Associate United States Representative on the Allied Commission on Reparations and, do authorize and empower him," etc., etc.

I should be grateful if you could have the corrected copy done immediately so that it can be signed by the President before I leave.

Sincerely,

/s/ Isador Lubin

x+81



x20

*new commission signed 5/16/45
72td to State for Seal*

April 23, 1945

85-25

My dear Mr. Geelan:

The President has asked me to thank you for your letter of April nineteenth, telling him of the resolution adopted by the Meriden Chapter of American Association of the United Nations. He was glad to learn of this action on the part of the Chapter.

I am sure you know how much your good wishes mean to the President.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM D. HASSEPT
Secretary to the President

Honorable James P. Geelan,
House of Representatives, x
Washington, D. C.

elb



FILE

JAMES P. GEELAN
District Commissioner

SECRETARIES
JOSEPH L. SCALAPINO
EILEEN H. GRIFFIN

COMMITTEES:
LABOR
FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC
TERRITORIES
COMMERCE, WEIGHTS AND
MEASURES

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
APR 21 8 57 AM '45
RECEIVED

April 19, 1945.

Handwritten:
4/23/45
JPG

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. President:

I have been requested to call to your attention a resolution adopted at a meeting held in Meriden, Connecticut by the Meriden Chapter of American Association of the United Nations.

The resolution endorses the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for world peace and security, and has been signed by one thousand residents of Meriden, Connecticut and vicinity. #

The original of the resolution and the signed petition blanks have been sent to me.

I know this manifestation of approval of your efforts to establish an organization for the purpose of securing a just and lasting peace will be most heartening.

I intend to have the resolution and petitions referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

With sincere good wishes for your continued good health, I am

Yours respectfully,

Handwritten signature: James P. Geelan
James P. Geelan, M.C.



JPG:hg

2 E113

18 April 1945

85-D

Mayor Roger Lapham
San Francisco, California

Attention: United States Delegates

Dear Sirs:

We, the undersigned, members of the Los Angeles Section of National Council of Jewish Juniors -- International Relations & Post War Planning Committee, as progressive-minded American citizens, feel that the proposals set forth in the Dumbarton Oaks agreement is a step in the right direction toward securing an international world organization for the maintenance of world peace and security.

As our represented delegates, we urge you to make every effort to put through the principles embraced by the Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

Yours very truly,

cc. to: President of U.S.A.
Sec. of State
Senators of California



B-File

JAMES P. FITZPATRICK
ATTORNEY AT LAW
530 WEST SIXTH STREET
LOS ANGELES 14
TELEPHONE 4222

May 1, 1945

5/17
ack
5/11/45
85-C

Honorable Harry S. Truman
President, The United States of America
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I hope this letter shall neither offend good taste nor appear presumptuous. However, I cannot let this opportunity pass without commending you on the very excellent choice you made in selecting Mr. Edwin W. Pauley as your representative on the Allied Reparations Commission. x383

I have been a partner and an intimate of Mr. Pauley for fifteen years, so coming from such a source this letter is entitled to a degree of credence that cannot be shared with those who merely praise. During that period I have come to know all of Mr. Pauley's many virtues, and his few vices. That familiarity with him permits me to say that time will corroborate the sagacity of your selection. He will prove a prudent, patient, and discerning ambassador. One need not be apprehensive of the results of his negotiations. Your interests and the interests of this country will be protected and advanced. He will acquit you and his country well.

Respectfully

James P. Fitzpatrick
James P. Fitzpatrick



D

Only

May 11, 1945

My dear Mr. Fitzpatrick:

The President has asked me to thank you
for your letter of May first expressing approval
of his selection of Honorable Edwin W. Pauley. I
can assure you that your thoughtfulness in writing
is appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM D. BASSETT
Secretary to the President

Mr. James P. Fitzpatrick,
530 West Sixth Street,
Los Angeles 14,
California.



h89

EXCERPT FROM THE PRESIDENT'S
PRESS AND RADIO CONFERENCE
MAY 2, 1946

File
5-7-46

85-6

Mr. Pauley is carrying on in his capacity of Chief of the
American Reparations Commission. #

x383

The resources and industries of Manchuria and Korea are basic
to the formation of any long range plan for the peaceful economy of
East Asia.

Mr. Pauley's interim report on Japanese reparations removals
is a splendid plan for immediate action to utilize the productive ability
of Manchuria and Korea.

x295

x197

At the present time, however, we have little information on
their current productive ability, therefore, no final plan or program
of reparations for Japan can be evolved until we know more about the
resources and industrial installations on the continent, particularly in
Manchuria and Korea.

x471

Since both the Secretary of State and I consider this to be a
matter of greatest importance, we have asked Mr. Pauley to undertake this
first-hand study of the situation in Manchuria and Korea.

The Acting Secretary of State will have a statement on
Mr. Pauley's mission.

x36
x36-A
x36-B
x150



B. L. H.

Original File

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 2, 1946

The President

The White House

My dear Mr. President:

It is anticipated that in today's press conference, you will be asked questions concerning my prospective trip to Manchuria. In anticipation of the questions which you may be asked, I have outlined below a brief statement which may be useful to you in considering your answer.

QUESTION: Mr. President, do you have any comment to make on Edwin W. Pauley's trip to Manchuria?

ANSWER: Mr. Pauley is carrying on in his capacity of Chief of the American Reparations Commission.

The resources and industries of Manchuria and Korea are basic to the formation of any long range plan for the peaceful economy of East Asia.

Mr. Pauley's interim report on Japanese reparations removals is a splendid plan for immediate action to utilize the productive ability of Manchuria and Korea.

At the present time, however, we have little information on their current productive ability, therefore, no final plan or program of reparations for Japan can be evolved until we know more about the resources and industrial installations on the continent, particularly in Manchuria



B-File

and Korea.

Since both the Secretary of State and I consider this to be a matter of greatest importance, we have asked Mr. Pauley to undertake this first-hand study of the situation in Manchuria and Korea.

The Acting Secretary of State will have a statement on Mr. Pauley's mission.

At this point, Mr. President, I would suggest that you instruct your secretary to distribute the release on the personnel of the mission.



Original Document
for Presentation

85-6

June 25, 1946

Dear Mr. Childs:

Thank you for your letter of June 18th in which you state your willingness to make available the services of Dr. Luther Gulick beginning about June 20th to serve with Ambassador Pauloy.

*383

The President has asked me to assure you that he is most grateful for your kind cooperation.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

MATTHEW J. CONNELLY
Secretary to the President

Mr. Richard Childs X
Chairman,
Institute of Public Administration
New York 21, New York

HJC/ejc

B File
Original for
for Process

June 25, 1946

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JUSTIN WOLFE X

The attached correspondence
is self-explanatory.

MATTHEW J. CONNELLY
Secretary to the President

aje

Letter from Richard S. Childs, Chairman, Institute
of Public Administration, New York, N. Y., dated June 18, 1946,
re willingness of Institute to make available to Ambassador
Pauley the services of Dr. Luther Gulick for a two week
period beginning June 29th.



B. File

June 17, 1946

Mr. Richard S. Childs
Institute of Public Administration
684 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Childs:

Ambassador Edwin W. Pauley, the President's personal representative on reparations matters, has cabled me from Manchuria requesting that I contact you in an effort to obtain the services of Dr. Luther Gulick of your Institute for a short period of time in order that Dr. Gulick might go to Paris and Berlin to meet Ambassador Pauley upon his arrival in Europe.

Ambassador Pauley desires to have Dr. Gulick's services on certain final policy phases of reparations problems for approximately a two-week period beginning on or about June 20th. In his cable to me, Ambassador Pauley has indicated that because of Dr. Gulick's previous service and experience on the reparations missions his assistance as an advisor at this time would be of immeasurable help.

It would be greatly appreciated if you could arrange for the loan of Dr. Gulick's services during that period of time. I sincerely hope you will be able to make this arrangement.

May I take this opportunity of expressing Ambassador Pauley's sincere appreciation as well as my own for your favorable consideration of this request.

Sincerely yours,

Matthew J. Connelly
Secretary to the President



3-5114
Original
for Review

85-6

7
May 2, 1945

The Honorable

The Secretary of the Treasury x11

My dear Mr. Secretary:

x323 As you no doubt already know, I have appointed Mr. Edwin T. Pauley as the United States Representative on the Allied Reparations Commission with the rank of Ambassador.

I am particularly desirous of having the activities of Mr. Pauley and his staff thoroughly coordinated with those of other Federal agencies which are concerned with our international economic relations.

x285
x396

In order that there may be unity of national policy, I should appreciate it if you would arrange for close liaison with the Reparations Commission so that it may be currently informed of any contemplated transactions of a financial or other character with any of the Allied Nations.

fl Such information will be essential in guiding our Reparations Representative in his negotiations with other Allied powers.

Very cordially,

(Sgd) HARRY S. TRUMAN





OFFICE OF
ALIEN PROPERTY CUSTODIAN
WASHINGTON

RECEIVED
MAY 9 3 42 PM '45

May 9, 1945

My dear Mr. President:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter advising of the appointment of Mr. Edwin W. Pauley as the United States Representative on the Allied Reparations Commission. I note your desire that I arrange for a close liaison with the Reparations Mission so that it may have the advantage of any information in the possession of this Agency that may be of value in its work and also that you desire that any contemplated action by this Agency which may be related in any way to the future German economy be brought to the attention of the Mission.

You may, of course, be sure that your wishes in this matter will be carried out explicitly. I have already called upon Mr. Pauley, together with our General Counsel, and we have arranged to make available to him whatever data we have or can obtain which he feels may prove helpful. Compilations of material are already in the process of preparation for this purpose, and I will be pleased to make the full facilities of this Agency available to the Mission.

Sincerely,

James E. Markham
James E. Markham
Alien Property Custodian

The President,

The White House.



ASHLAND OIL & REFINING COMPANY

INCORPORATED

ASHLAND, KENTUCKY

May 9, 1945

WILLIAM G. BLAIR, Chairman of the Board
J. HOWARD MARSHALL, President
EVERETT J. WELLS, Vice President
W. H. KEEFER, Vice President
E. L. McDONALD, Executive Counsel
E. L. DUNHAM, Assistant Secretary
E. H. SEATON, Treasurer
EDWARD SMITH, JR., Assistant Treasurer
E. A. BRIDGES, General Manager
JACK S. CHAMBERLAIN, Financial Manager
M. E. DUFFEE, Transportation Manager
F. M. BAKER, Traffic Manager

The President
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

I have your letter of May 5 requesting a temporary leave of absence for Mr. J. Howard Marshall, the President of this Company, in order that he may serve and accompany Ambassador Edwin Pauley on his forthcoming mission as United States Representative on the Reparations Commission.

My associates and I are deeply appreciative of the compliment which you have paid our organization. We know that you recognize that for a relatively small independent company like ourselves, even the temporary absence of one of our most active and able executives entails a greater sacrifice than would be the case with many larger companies. This is particularly true now that the conclusion of the European war forces upon us difficult problems of readjustment and we sincerely hope that it will not be necessary for Mr. Marshall to be absent for any too protracted period.

Above all else, we are anxious to assist you and your chosen representatives in the great tasks with which you are confronted. As Americans who share your concern for the future peace of the world, we are glad you believe we may make some contribution to that cause and for that reason we are happy to accede to your request.

Cordially yours,


Chairman

FGB:AJ



Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D.C. 25

May 7, 1945

U.S. WHITE HOUSE
MAY 9 8 44 AM '45
RECEIVED

My dear Mr. President:

I have your letter expressing your desire to have Mr. Pauley's activities as United States representative on the Allied Reparations Commission coordinated with those of other Federal agencies whose work touches the German economy.

I shall be very glad, as you suggest, to arrange for close liaison with the Commission and furnish them with any information that they may deem valuable in their work.

Respectfully yours,

Attorney General

The President

The White House



THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON*File 85-c*
0

May 4, 1945

My dear Mr. President:

With reference to your letter of May 2, I am making arrangements for the closest liaison between the Treasury and Mr. Pauley and his staff, and one of my assistants is on Mr. Pauley's staff. You may be assured that Mr. Pauley will obtain any information which he may desire.

Faithfully yours,

The President,

The White House.



85-6

May 18, 1945

Respectfully referred for the
information of Honorable Edwin W.
Pauley.

M. C. LATTA
Executive Clerk

elb

Copies of ltrs of 5/16/45 to the President from Chairman Ganson
Purcell, SEC, and 5/17/45 to the President from Chairman W. S.
Eccles, Board of Governors of the Fed Reserve System; originals
retained in file.

x143

x90



SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION

WASHINGTON
PHILADELPHIATHE WHITE HOUSE
MAY 17 2 24 PM '45
RECEIVED

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN

May 16, 1945

To The President
The White House

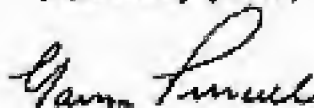
My dear Mr. President:

not filed

I am just in receipt of your letter referring to your appointment of Ambassador Edwin W. Pauley as the United States Representative on the Allied Reparations Commission and stating your desire of having the activities of Ambassador Pauley and his associates on the Reparations Mission thoroughly coordinated with those of the Securities and Exchange Commission insofar as our work has a bearing upon the German economy.

I have communicated today with Ambassador Pauley and have placed the facilities of this Commission at his disposal for the achievement of the close liaison you have directed in this work.

Faithfully yours,

Gannon Purcell,
Chairman



BOARD OF GOVERNORS
OF THE
FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM
WASHINGTON

THE WHITE HOUSE
MAY 18 8 35 AM '45
RECEIVED

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN

May 17, 1945.

My dear Mr. President:

not filed.

This is to acknowledge your letter in regard to the appointment of Mr. Edwin W. Pauley as the United States Representative on the Allied Reparations Commission with the rank of Ambassador.

In accordance with your request, I have already communicated with Mr. Pauley with a view to arranging the close liaison between the Federal Reserve System and the Reparations Mission which you suggest, so that any information in our possession that may be of value in the work of the Commission shall be available to Mr. Pauley and his associates, and so that he may be advised of any contemplated action of the System which may be related in any way to his responsibilities.

Respectfully yours,

M. S. Eccles
M. S. Eccles,
Chairman.

x90

The President,
The White House.





85-C

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

RECEIVED
MAY 15 10 45 AM '45

May 14, 1945.

My dear Mr. President:

I note that you have appointed Mr. Edwin W. Pauley as the United States Representative on the Allied Reparations Commission with the rank of Ambassador. This Department and other agencies under my jurisdiction will make every effort to keep a close liaison with Ambassador Pauley.

Sincerely yours,

H.

Harold L. Igoe

Secretary of the Interior.

The President,

The White House.

x 6



*Letter to Dukes & Wallace & which attached authenticity
instruments refer, and sent Com. to file. E.P.*

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
WASHINGTON 25MAY 15 8 31 AM '45
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May 11, 1945

85-C

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President: //

With reference to the appointment of Mr. Edwin W. Pauley as the United States Representative on the Allied Reparations Commission, the Department of Commerce has been in touch for some months with Ambassador Pauley's associate, Minister Isador Lubin, and has supplied a considerable amount of material for the use of the Reparations Commission. A representative of the Department has also participated in the work for the Mission undertaken by the Foreign Economic Administration.

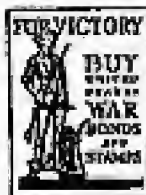
Since the Mission will maintain close relations with the Department of State, I believe the participation of the Department of Commerce in the work of the Executive Committee on Foreign Economic Policy will furnish the best means for bringing to the attention of the Mission any action by the Department of Commerce affecting the future German economy or the economy of any country that will be interested in German reparations.

Sincerely yours,

J. A. Wallace

Secretary of Commerce.

X 3



May 16, 1945

Respectfully referred for the
information of Honorable Edwin W.
Pauley.

WILLIAM D. HASETT
Secretary to the President

elb

Copies of ltr of 5/11/45 to the President from the Secretary of
Commerce and 5/14/45 from the Secretary of the Interior; originals
retained in file.



85-6

May 7, 1945

Dear Mr. Secretary:

inf (did not come to file)

I have your letter of May 5th concerning Edwin W. Pauley's request for the assignment of Colonels Jay L. Taylor and E. E. Fogelson. x3

I have taken up your comments regarding both of these gentlemen with Mr. Pauley and while he feels that Colonel Taylor would be an ideal man for him on this mission, he does not want to hamper your organization to the extent that it would adversely affect the war. He feels that if you cannot find the proper man to replace Colonel Taylor that he would withdraw his request for him.

In the meantime he is extremely anxious to secure the services of Colonel Fogelson and your letter states that you are waiting for the communication from the theater commander in the area concerned.

Sincerely,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

The Secretary of War *x25*

Washington, D. C.

B-File *1/4*
Original
for file

WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON

May 10, 1945

file

Dear Mr. President:

I have your letter of May 7 and was very glad to learn that Mr. Pauley finds it possible to withdraw his request for the services of Colonel Taylor. I have had the necessary instructions issued to rescind the orders transferring Colonel Taylor.

With respect to Colonel Fogelson, I believe there may have been a misunderstanding of my letter to you of May 5. General Eisenhower has been instructed to transfer Colonel Fogelson from his headquarters to the United States Military Mission in Moscow, and I understand informally that arrangements are being made for Colonel Fogelson to meet Mr. Pauley in Paris as Mr. Pauley proceeds to Moscow.

Respectfully yours,



Secretary of War

The President

The White House



As per sent Paul

B. White
10

85-6

May 1, 1945

Chief of Staff ^{125-T}
United States Army
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

¹³⁸³ Mr. Edwin W. Pauley whom I have recently appointed as my personal representative and Ambassador in connection with matters pertaining to reparations is in need of the services of Colonel N. E. Fogelson, O-918611, USC, G-4 Division, SHAEP, (APO 757, c/o Postmaster New York), who is presently serving with the United States Army in the European Theater of Operations. ^x

It is requested that Colonel Fogelson be assigned to duty with Mr. Pauley, who is the United States representative on the Allied Commission on Reparations, and that Colonel Fogelson be directed immediately to report for such duty at the Headquarters of said Commission in Moscow not later than May 15, 1945, or as otherwise requested by Mr. Pauley.

[#] Very truly yours,

(sgd) HARRY S. TRUMAN

Letter sent by Special Messenger.
5/2/45



¹²⁵

B. E. L. E. C.
Original
for President

May 1, 1945

Chief of Staff
United States Army
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Mr. Edwin W. Pauley whom I have recently appointed as my personal representative and Ambassador in connection with matters pertaining to reparations is in need of the services of Colonel Jay L. Taylor O-909159, Q.M.C., AUS, Acting Chief, Fuel Lubricants Division, Office of the Quartermaster General, Washington, D.C.

It is requested that Colonel Taylor be assigned to duty with Mr. Pauley, who is the United States Representative on the Allied Commission on Reparations, and that Colonel Taylor be directed immediately to report for such duty to Mr. Pauley not later than May 10th, 1945.

Very truly yours,

(Sgd) HARRY S. TRUMAN

Letter sent by Special Messenger.
5/2/45



6 PM

85-60

May 11, 1946

Honorable Harold D. Smith x79
Director
Bureau of the Budget
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Harold:

As you know, Ed Pauley is going to Moscow as my Ambassador to serve on the Allied Reparations Commission which was provided for at Yalta. #

I have told Ed that he can draft from the Armed Services and from the Civilian Agencies anyone that he feels he will need. One of the names on his list is Dr. Luther Gulick, who is now in the Bureau of the Budget as an Administrative Consultant.

I am, therefore, dropping you this note to ask your cooperation in making Dr. Gulick available for this assignment.

Cordially yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

H. S. Truman
1946Original
for [illegible]

85-6

May 25, 1945

Respectfully referred for the
information of Honorable Edwin W.
Pauley.

M. C. LATTA
Executive Clerk

slb

Copy of ltr of 5/22/45 to the President from the Director of the
Bureau of the Budget; original retained in file.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D. C.

MAY 22 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Services of Bureau Staff

I am very glad to make Dr. Luther Gulick available for work with Mr. Ed Pauley. The Bureau's services and staff are always at your disposal.

Dr. Gulick has been doing some work with us which I hope very much he will be able to complete upon his return from Moscow.

Luther Gulick



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D. C. (25)*file*OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

May 16, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MCKIM

I cannot agree to the Pauley-Gulick deal for very good reasons.

In the first place, Dr. Gulick is a consultant in the Bureau of the Budget for only a day or so a week at \$50 a day. Working continuously on the Reparations Mission as he would, he would be receiving a salary at the rate of \$18,000 a year. We simply do not have that much consultant money available in our budget.

When Gulick talked to me, I am sure that I made it clear that he would have to be off the Bureau of the Budget payroll. The proposed arrangement would not only get us into trouble but everyone else as well, and there is no sound reason - even if we had the money - why persons on the Reparations Mission should be financed out of the budget of the Bureau of the Budget. Financing can appropriately come from the State Department fund for International Conferences, for which we have made ample provision.

I know that you will readily see why this is not a sound proposal.

*Wm. C. Sullivan*
Director

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

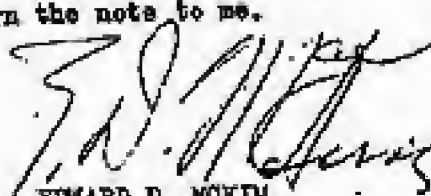
May 13, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR

DIRECTOR HAROLD SMITH
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET

Attached is a note just received from Edwin W. Pauley relative to the assignment of Dr. Luther Gulick.

This is in line with our telephone conversation of this morning, and I would appreciate it if you would approve the arrangement, and return the note to me.



EDWARD D. MOHR
Chief Administrative Assistant
to the President

Attachment



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 15, 1945

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: ED MC KIM

FROM: Edwin W. Pauley

As you probably know, Dr. Luther Gulick has been assigned to go with my Mission.

I shall appreciate it very much if you will see that Harold Smith receives a memorandum that Dr. Gulick will accompany this Mission and that his per diem will continue on with the Bureau of The Budget as heretofore.



A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Edwin W. Pauley".

Edwin W. Pauley

85-60

7

May 14, 1946

Honorable Joseph C. Grew ^{x20}
Acting Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

^{x383} Mr. Pauley and ^{x481} Mr. Lubin have informed me of the
meeting they held with you on May 3, 1946.

^{x295} I understand that both Mr. Pauley and Mr. Lubin informed
you that it was their determined intention to conduct their
negotiations on reparations matters in constant consultation
and with the advice of the Secretary of State and in accordance
with the foreign policy of the United States. I am further
informed that they will undertake to transmit all requests for
directives directly to the Secretary of State and will inform
him in advance of any communications to me which have any
bearing upon our foreign policy. ^{x386}

I can assure you that both gentlemen have the greatest
desire to work in close harmony both with the Secretary of
State and all other government agencies including the War
Department which will be responsible for the administration
of the United States zone of occupation and for representing
the United States on the Control Council. ^{x285}
^{x25}

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd) HARRY S. TRUMAN



Copy to Messrs. Grew, Dr. Lubin
of his request 7/4/46

85-6

File
5-15-45

DRAFT OF STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

A fair and workable settlement of reparations poses some of the most difficult problems of the entire post-war adjustment. These questions are closely related to the task of insuring a lasting peace. For that reason, the right answers will be vital to the security of America and the world.

I personally concur in the general view of our own objectives as shared by Ambassador Pauley and Dr. Lubin. Absolute insurance against German or Japanese rearmament — over again — comes first with us.

I believe, further, that our allies are of one mind with us on this point; and that with such a basic agreement, the way will be clear for a just and equitable schedule of German reparations — reparations "in kind" which will provide the maximum of rehabilitation and restoration of overrun territory.

The men chosen for this vital mission should inspire the confidence of all Americans. They are eminently qualified to do the job.

x394



B-ENC
Original
for [illegible]

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

MAY 15, 1945

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

A fair and workable settlement of reparations poses some of the most difficult problems of the entire post-war adjustment. These questions are closely related to the task of insuring a lasting peace. For that reason, the right answers will be vital to the security of America and the world.

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B-1110



OFFICE OF THE
UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ALLIED COMMISSION ON REPARATIONS

June 12, 1945



My dear Mr. President:

Through a chance misunderstanding of flight instructions on the part of Soviet authorities, my planes landed in Berlin on June 11th while enroute from Paris to Moscow. We remained grounded for about three hours. During that interval the Soviet military authorities provided motor cars for us and escorted us through the center of Berlin. As I had previously spent some days in our own zone of occupation, I now have a basis for making comparisons.

The contrast between the Russian methods and our own struck me so forcibly that I am taking this opportunity to write to you in all haste and in all earnestness. Certain inadequacies in the policy and program of our armed occupation disturbed me deeply at the time I was in our own zone. Now that I have had a glimpse of what the Russians are doing, in theirs, I feel that it is imperative that you take action at once for a better clarified policy and a better informed administration on our part.

The principle difference that I observe is that the Russians are going ahead with a well-defined, purposeful program of re-education of the German people, holding out to them a ray of hope for themselves and a handclasp of friendship between the two peoples -- on a strictly anti-fascist basis; whereas we, in our own territory, offer them nothing, have no political program that I have been able to discover, and to all practical purposes are accomplishing little besides holding the German people at gunpoint.

What the Russians have accomplished by their method, I am not able to say. What we have accomplished, as far as I can observe, is complete obedience at doing nothing, or next to nothing, with a deep undercurrent of hate and resentment.

As we drove through Berlin we saw that the Russians had plastered the ruins with posters, bulletins and notices, using our own best advertising techniques to "sell" the Germans the idea of cooperation, anti-Nazism, and the preservation of their own self-respect -- this latter, I think, being a point of consummate wisdom, and one to which our own military government has been utterly blind.

For example:

HISTORY TELLS US THAT HITLER HAS COME AND
GONE, BUT THAT THE GERMAN STATE AND THE
GERMAN PEOPLE WILL LIVE FOREVER.

(SIGNED) STALIN

There are a great many posters, each with an elaboration of this theme, or with other themes combining anti-Naziism and cooperation with the people of the Soviet Union and the United Nations. All are signed by Stalin.

And I assure you that the German people are taking them in. (They are printed, of course, in German.) We witnessed this as we went through the city. People stood in front of the signs and studied them and discussed their meaning.

The only counterparts of these posters that I saw in our zone of occupation were the grim signs reading "Verboten."

Then, too, the Russians are going ahead with publication of newspapers in the German tongue, and they are also posting copies of these about in the streets to get their message over to the people. Instead of this, in our zone we have versions in English, for the members of our armed forces--among them, I am told, the "Chicago Tribune."

In spite of wrecked buildings and bare and splintered trees in the park alongside, the Hindenburgstrasse had a gala aspect, as if prepared for a parade and celebration, with huge red flags waving all down the boulevard and posters of billboard size lining both sides. These were paintings, hurried and crude, but very ably presenting the Soviet fighters in a heroic light -- many with smiling faces and appealing expressions. They are soon winning the war over Nazism and liberating the German people.

Then at a central location there had been erected a platform about a hundred feet long, above which towered three giant pictures -- yourself, Stalin, Churchill, with a quotation from the United Nations' declaration in English and in Russian. Below these were panels, each with the name of one member of the United Nations. A fierce-eyed Mongolian wearing the Red Army uniform stood sentry. When I tried to go up close to the platform he held me off with his gun, but later he learned that we were Americans, and smilingly gave us his permission.

It was a scene which I saw nowhere duplicated or approached in any way in any city that is now occupied by the American Armed Forces. We simply are not doing things of that kind, nor are we showing that kind of attitude towards the German people. In fact, Mr. President, I do not think it can be said that we have shown an attitude indicating



that we think of the Germans as people at all. On our side all I could see was repression and reliance on force of arms.

Again, when we asked the Soviet officers if they allowed "Fraternization" with the Germans, they explained that now that the war is over, they countenance "organized fraternization" -- that is, dances and other group social functions. This was an official answer. Unofficially, I suspect that a great deal more than that is countenanced.

On our side, of course, we have been adhering, in principal, to our very unnatural and very unrealistic policy of complete non-fraternization--complete with penalties and the inevitable increase in violations. And I suspect that our boys who are doing this "fraternizing" are explaining to the German girls that they must be very careful because their country does not want them to have anything to do with the German people.

I do not mean to imply, Mr. President, that we should "coddle" the Germans. The Russians are not coddling them. Quite the contrary, they are making them get down to business cleaning up their own mess. Berlin wrecked as it is almost beyond recognition, is nevertheless being cleaned up. And the Germans, under German supervision, are doing the cleaning up. They are working hard, men and women alike, in Berlin. They are told in no uncertain terms, in posters on the buildings, that if they try to engage in plunder, they will be shot. But they are not told that they are a guilty people who ought to be shot anyway. Instead of that, they see the messages from Stalin, promising them equality as a people when they divest themselves of all vestiges of Nazism.

We, too, can hold out hope to them - greater hope than they can receive from any other nation on earth - and we can help them to realize that hope by making them help themselves. In working toward it, we must allow them to carry on their own struggle under civilian, anti-nazi leadership; and we must give that leadership a chance to express itself, and to help in the big job of ridding the German mass of all Nazi poison.

Under stress of time and difficulty of communication, I am inclined to report my findings bluntly. Our job is not being done in American-occupied Germany. We have accomplished nothing towards convincing the German people that we can offer them a way of life better than the one they had. And the penalty for failing in this job will be tragically high.

In this dangerous situation, our military command is not at fault. General Eisenhower and General Clay have done everything that could be done under the circumstances, - these being that no policy on political re-education of the German people has been set forth. The military authority can proceed with necessary tasks of armed occupation that properly fall within the field of military government as we generally apply that term; but no matter how brilliant the men at the head of such a government, they should not be expected to venture into the political re-education of a whole people without a groundwork of policy on which they will have safe footing.

I therefore urge you to have such a groundwork of policy set forth for those now in command, or to place this responsibility for the character of our occupation in the hands of a man who is both qualified and directed to carry it out.

I shall not presume to suggest names. I do know a few of the qualifications that such a man must have. He must be able to formulate a strong, constructive, and clearcut policy of re-education, combined, of course, with control. He must be able to hand down a directive which does not set his subordinates galloping off in four directions at once. And he must surround himself with a staff capable of understanding the fact that military occupation of a once-great nation consists of something more than pointing a gun at its people.

Respectfully,



Edwin M. Pauley
Edwin M. Pauley.

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

June 25, 1945

85-D

Dear Mr. Laughlin:

This makes belated acknowledgment of your letter of May thirty-first addressed to the President. The extraordinary pressure under which the President has been working accounts for the delay in telling you how much he appreciates this thoughtful expression of your views. The President was very glad also to have the suggestion which you brought to his attention for his guidance in assessing the value of the results at San Francisco.

In the rush of his preparations to go to the Pacific Coast it was not possible for the President to make personal acknowledgment. I do want you to know, however, that he appreciated your thoughtful interest and particularly your assurance that his friends and acquaintances in Kansas City wish him every success in the difficult tasks ahead.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM D. HASSETT
Secretary to the President

X
Louis A. Laughlin, Esq.,
1200 Dierks Building,
Kansas City 6, Missouri.



100-1000

LOUIS A. LAUGHLIN
ATTORNEY AT LAW
1200 ~~WYOMING~~ BLOOMINGB. BLDG.
KANSAS CITY, MO. (6)

R. BENNY DAVIS

May 31, 1945

Honorable Harry S. Truman
President of the United States
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

The question whether the plan adopted by the San Francisco Conference patterned after the Dumbarton Oaks Plan is an effective instrument for the prevention of war bids fair to enter into the elections of 1946 and 1948.

A question so vital to the welfare of the Nation cannot be considered a partisan issue and there will be as much crossing of party lines as there was in 1864 when the existence of the Nation was imperiled. If the San Francisco plan will not accomplish the end sought, then the acquisition of strategic positions like Dakar for the protection of South America and the Galapagos Islands for the Panama Canal become a necessary part of our preparations for World War III.

I live at the Woodlea Hotel along with John T. Barker, Russell Groiner and others you know. The work of the San Francisco Conference is a subject of frequent discussion.

I am one of the few Republicans who refused to follow the party in its policy of isolation at the close of World War I. We voted for Wilson, but his League of Nations failed of its purpose because of the same basic defects as exist in the San Francisco plan.

You will be called upon soon to declare your opinion of the San Francisco plan. That you may be informed as to the objections of the opponents of the plan is the occasion of this letter.

In the evolution of morals, the duties the individual owes to the members of his own family or tribe are first defined, for the universal belief was that the individual was under no moral obligation to foreigners, i.e. non-members of his family or tribe.

The belief that all men are brothers and should be treated alike, that the same moral obligation rests upon the individual, whether acting alone or as a member of a group, belongs to a later stage of



LOUIS A. LAUGHLIN
ATTORNEY AT LAW
1200 ~~XXX~~ CHERRY BLDG.
KANSAS CITY, MO. (6)
R. PENNY DAVIS

- 3 -

Honorable Harry S. Truman

May 31, 1945

breaks out to debate the question whether the rioters have a just grievance before suppressing the riot.

Without regard to party, your friends and acquaintances here wish you every success in the difficult task before you.

Respectfully yours,

L. A. Laughlin

LAL:EL



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF PROTOCOL

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LATTA

With reference to your memorandum of June 29, 1945 to Mr. Summerlin, enclosing original of a message received by the President from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek dated June 28, 1945, the original message is herewith returned for your files together with a copy of the acknowledgment prepared in the Department for the signature of the President.

Donn Purvis

Donn Purvis
Secretary to Mr. Summerlin

7-14-45.



DEPARTMENT
OF STATE

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES
TELEGRAPH SECTION

85-14

PLAIN

[Handwritten initials: R, RM]

HIS EXCELLENCY

July 5, 1945

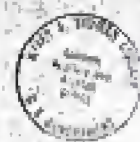
CHUNG KAI-SHENG,

x PP# 106
x 150

PRESIDENT, NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OF

THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA,

CHUNGKING (CHINA).



I thank you in the name of the American people for your inspiring message on the successful conclusion of the United Nations Conference on International Organization and on the adoption of the United Nations Charter.

Your generous estimation of the American Government's role is most gratifying, but I am convinced that the success of the Conference is above all attributable to the united determination of all the participating nations to achieve the first great step toward ensuring that the sacrifices made by their peoples shall not have been in vain.

It has been a great privilege for the Government and people of the United States to welcome the Chinese Delegation to San Francisco. The entire Conference was deeply impressed by the earnestness of purpose, clear judgment and constructive contributions which characterized that Delegation's part in the historic proceedings.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

CA:WChase:HB

CA

FE

FR

ELEGRAM

REC'D 200PM

The White House
Washington

1WNFV 194 VIA RCA

CHUNGKING, 230PM JUNE 28, 1945

THE PRESIDENT:

ON BEHALF OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE I WISH TO EXTEND TO YOUR EXCELLENCY MY MOST SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS UPON THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND THE ADOPTION OF THE WORLD CHARTER WHICH ARE INDEED A GREAT BLESSING TO MANKIND (STOP) THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CONFERENCE ARE ENTIRELY DUE TO THE INITIATIVE TAKEN BY THE UNITED STATES AND THE HARMONIOUS COOPERATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS (STOP) YOUR EXCELLENCY'S INSPIRING LEADERSHIP HAS NOT ONLY HELPED TO FULFILL THE WISHES OF THE LATE PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT BUT ALSO CONSTITUTES A POWERFUL WEAPON FOR DESTROYING THE FORCES OF AGGRESSION (STOP) THESE INITIAL ACHIEVEMENTS HOWEVER MUST BE FOLLOWED BY THE CONTINUED EFFORTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS IF COMPLETE SUCCESS IS TO BE ATTAINED (STOP) BEING ONE OF THE FIRST COUNTRIES TO STRONGLY ADVOCATE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A WORLD SECURITY ORGANIZATION CHINA WILL DO HER UTMOST FOR THE REALIZATION OF OUR COMMON OBJECTIVES (STOP) I ALSO WISH TO AVAIL MYSELF OF THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS MY DEEP APPRECIATION FOR THE HOSPITALITY AND FACILITIES EXTENDED TO THE CHINESE DELEGATION BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK.

B File



June 29, 1945

X 20

Respectfully referred to the
State Department for preparation
of appropriate reply.

This telegram was given to the
press by our office yesterday.

Attention: Mr. Sumnerlin.

H. C. LATTA
Executive Clerk

clb

Message of 6/29/45 to the President from Chiang Kai-shek, Chungking;
on behalf of the Chinese people, extends most sincere congratulations
upon the successful conclusion of the San Francisco Conference, etc.;
being one of the first countries to strongly advocate the establish-
ment of a world security organization, China will do her utmost for
the realization of our common objectives; also wishes to avail himself
of the opportunity to express his deep appreciation for the hospitality
and facilities extended to the Chinese Delegation by the U.S.Govt.



E File

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

June 28, 1945.

The President today received the following message from
Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek:

"On behalf of the Chinese people I wish to extend to your Excellency my most sincere congratulations upon the successful conclusion of the United Nations Conference on International Organization and the adoption of the world charter which are indeed a great blessing to mankind. The achievements of the conference are entirely due to the initiative taken by the United States and the harmonious cooperation of the United Nations. Your Excellency's inspiring leadership has not only helped to fulfill the wishes of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt but also constitutes a powerful weapon for destroying the forces of aggression. These initial achievements however must be followed by the continued efforts of the United Nations if complete success is to be attained. Being one of the first countries to strongly advocate the establishment of a world security organization China will do her utmost for the realization of our common objectives. I also wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express my deep appreciation for the hospitality and facilities extended to the Chinese delegation by the United States Government."

*Original sent to State for preparation
of reply. 6/29/45*



E File

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7 3/28/49

85-A

March 22, 1949

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE x20

Referring to your memorandum of March seventeenth, relative to a Report by the President to the Congress for the year 1948 on the activities of the United Nations and the participation of the United States therein, the President has signed the draft of the message transmitting the report to the Congress. x419

The draft of messages and the other papers which accompanied your memorandum are returned to you herewith in order that you may cause the report to be printed in the usual manner for submission to the Congress by the President.



WILLIAM D. HASSETT
Secretary to the President

olb

Papers re above.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

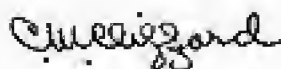
March 22, 1949

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

I have studied the attached papers, which consist of a report by the President to the Congress on the participation of the United States in the United Nations for the Year 1948.

I have studied carefully the suggested letter of transmittal which the State Department has prepared and I believe that it is excellent and can be signed by the President at this time. This letter will be printed and will become part of the report by the President.

Very respectfully yours,



CLARK M. CLIFFORD

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 17, 1949

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Transmittal of "Report by the President to the Congress for the Year 1948 on the Activities of the United Nations and the Participation of the United States Therein."

I am sending you herewith a letter to the Congress, prepared for your signature, transmitting the report on the participation of the United States in the United Nations for 1948. Enclosed also is my letter of transmittal in which I recommend your approval of the report.

These two letters of transmittal will constitute the introduction to the printed copies of the report, following the precedent established in the publications of the reports for 1946 and 1947.



Enclosures:

1. Draft letter from the President to the Congress, for the President's signature.
2. Letter from the Secretary of State to the President.

March 17, 1949

My dear Mr. President:

Transmitted herewith is a record of United States participation in the United Nations for the year 1948. I recommend that the report be approved and forwarded to the Congress in response to section 4 of the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Congress).

Both hope and disappointment marked the participation of the United States in the United Nations during 1948. The hope grew out of the continuing feeling that the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter offer the best basis of a peaceful world with international justice and respect for individual human rights and that most Members of the organization are working loyally in that direction. At the same time there was disappointment because of the failure of certain states to observe their obligations under the Charter on matters which seriously affect the maintenance of peace.

At the end of the year the American people could feel satisfied that their Government had used their rights and had respected their obligations as a Member of the United Nations. Our conduct was responsive to those rights and obligations in different ways. The United States took the lead in keeping the attention of the United Nations focused upon the political questions of the future government of Palestine, the independence of Korea, and the maintenance of the territorial integrity and political independence of Greece. In passing I wish to note that a major part of the personnel and equipment needed to facilitate United Nations efforts at peaceful settlement in these areas was supplied by the United States. Through its members on the Security Council's three-member Commission of Good Offices the United States took a prominent part in efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement of the differences between the Netherlands and the Indonesian republic. When

exhaustive

The President,

The White House.

exhaustive efforts failed to remove the threat to peace caused by the Soviet blockade of Berlin, we joined with France and the United Kingdom in placing the matter before the Security Council.

In other fields the United States was equally active. By its vigorous advocacy of forward steps the United States maintained its position of leadership in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The right to gather and disseminate news was given a strong impulse by the United States at the Freedom of Information Conference in March 1946. The American people have made available much of the money used by the International Children's Emergency Fund.

With respect to the trusteeship system, the United States took an active part in developing the Charter techniques of supervising the administration of trust territories and of giving substance to the right of petition of their inhabitants. As a Member responsible for the administration of non-self-governing territories, the United States submitted full information about its own territories.

By supplying complete statistical data we aided the United Nations in its analysis of the world economic situation through the Economic and Social Council and its commissions. We encouraged the greater use of the International Court of Justice.

We cooperated actively in the "Little Assembly's" study of voting procedure in the Security Council by defining our 1947 proposals for removing the unanimity requirement (the veto) from action in pacific settlement of disputes and in admission of new Members.

We agreed to extend to the United Nations a 65-million-dollar interest-free loan for headquarters construction.

I am glad to be able to provide this evidence of American steadfastness in our support of the United Nations. Details are to be found in the pages which follow.


At the same time, I feel it my duty to report that the American people, along with others, experienced disappointment over the inadequacy of some of the efforts of the Members of the United Nations to provide international peace and security on the basis of the Charter. In 1948 the conclusion became clearer than ever that as a security organization the United Nations has not thus far been able to grow to its full stature.

To meet

-3-

To meet the resulting need, several courses permitted by the Charter and consistent with its purposes have been followed. One course adopted has been to explore possibilities in the Charter relating to regional security arrangements. This procedure was recognized in the Senate resolution reaffirming the policy of the United States to achieve international peace and security through the United Nations (S. 239, 80th Congress). In line with this resolution, negotiations for a North Atlantic security pact were under way at the year's end. The same approach has been followed by certain other states as evidenced by the Brussels pact entered into by the United Kingdom, France, and the Benelux countries and endorsed by the United States Government. Another course consistent with the purposes of the Charter was the continuation of economic assistance and the provision of military equipment to Greece, Turkey, and China. The institution of the European Recovery Program followed the realization that the long-range Charter objective of increasing political stability by economic improvement required an interim program for Europe.

Nevertheless, there is no sound reason for Americans to lose confidence in the United Nations. Responsible collective judgment on matters of international concern is better than the interested and sometimes irresponsible judgments of individual nations. The future of America is closely related to the extension of democratic principles and practices in other areas; we believe the United Nations is the proper agency for promoting that extension by peaceful and proper means. Much remains to be done; the present need is to reaffirm our belief in the Charter of the United Nations and to strengthen our support for its processes of peace.



Faithfully yours,

Harry S. Truman

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

The accompanying report on the participation of the United States in the United Nations for 1948 is transmitted to the Congress on the recommendation of the Secretary of State.

The report has my approval.



At this stage in the life of the United Nations it is appropriate to say a word about the Charter and the organization. The

x85-7 Charter is at once a statement of objectives and a guide to action.

It proclaims the objectives of preventing future wars, of settling international disputes by peaceful means and in conformity with principles of justice, of promoting world-wide progress and better standards of living, of achieving universal respect for and observance of fundamental human rights and fundamental freedoms, and of removing the economic and social causes of international conflict and unrest.

These objectives are well stated in the Charter itself. We subscribed to them at the time we signed the Charter. We are firm

in our

in our resolution to work for these objectives.

The Charter is a guide to action. While this is so for all Members, it is particularly so for those enjoying the "right of veto". There is a greater obligation on these five powers than on the other Members to conduct themselves in accord with the principles of the Charter. They must "settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered." Equally, they must "refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations." Fulfilment of these obligations means the exercise of national self-restraint in international relations. Along with other Charter obligations they place limits on our freedom of action. But these limits are self-imposed, because we signed the Charter without reservation. During 1948 we have continued to recognize these Charter obligations as restrictions upon our conduct. We will continue so to recognize them. And we have a right to expect other Members of the United Nations to act similarly, for the Charter is a pledge of good faith

exchanged

exchanged by each Member with all the others.

I recommend the accompanying report to the attention of the Congress. The nature of our participation and the many different ways in which it is manifested may come as a surprise to many members. But it will not be an unpleasant surprise. We have taken the leadership in many fields of international relations. We can be proud of what we have done. If the United Nations as a security organization has disappointed us, as the Secretary of State notes, and if we have had to take supplemental measures to meet actual or potential threats to our security, it is not because the United States has not put forth real efforts to develop the United Nations to its full stature. The world today is not the world we had hoped for when the San Francisco conference adjourned less than four years ago.

The United States supports the United Nations in all respects.

The following pages tell how that was done in 1948.

(Sgd) HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE,

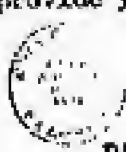
April 5, 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HARZETT

Subject: Suggested Letter from the President
to the Congress Transmittting Report
on United States Participation in
the United Nations during 1949

There is attached a copy of the letter by which it is proposed the President will transmit to Congress his forthcoming annual report on United States participation in the United Nations during the calendar year 1949. Also enclosed for your information is a copy of the signed original of the letter from the Secretary to the President which will transmit the Report to the President.

It will be appreciated if the Department may have an early reply from you indicating the acceptability of the proposed letter from the President to the Congress so that we may proceed with the printing of the Report which we hope to be able to provide you within two weeks.



William J. McWilliams
Director, Executive Secretariat

Enclosures:

1. Suggested letter from the President to the Congress.
2. Letter from the Secretary of State to the President.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 5, 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HANCOCK

Subject: Suggested Letter from the President
to the Congress Transmitting Report
on United States Participation in
the United Nations during 1949

There is attached a copy of the letter by which it is
proposed the President will transmit to Congress his forth-
coming annual report on United States participation in the
United Nations during the calendar year 1949. Also en-
closed for your information is a copy of the signed origi-
nal of the letter from the Secretary to the President
which will transmit the Report to the President.

It will be appreciated if the Department may have an
early reply from you indicating the acceptability of the
proposed letter from the President to the Congress so that
we may proceed with the printing of the Report which we
hope to be able to provide you within two weeks.



William J. McWilliams
William J. McWilliams
Director, Executive Secretariat

Enclosures:

1. Suggested letter from the
President to the Congress.
2. Letter from the Secretary of State
to the President.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 5, 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HATCHETT

Subject: Suggested Letter from the President
to the Congress Transmitting Report
on United States Participation in
the United Nations during 1949

There is attached a copy of the letter by which it is proposed the President will transmit to Congress his forthcoming annual report on United States participation in the United Nations during the calendar year 1949. Also enclosed for your information is a copy of the signed original of the letter from the Secretary to the President which will transmit the Report to the President.

It will be appreciated if the Department may have an early reply from you indicating the acceptability of the proposed letter from the President to the Congress so that we may proceed with the printing of the Report which we hope to be able to provide you within two weeks.



William J. McWilliams
William J. McWilliams
Director, Executive Secretariat

Enclosures:

1. Suggested letter from the President to the Congress.
2. Letter from the Secretary of State to the President.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 7, 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Subject: Fourth Annual Report on U. S. Activities in the United Nations.

I am attaching the letter of transmittal prepared for your signature by the Department of State, to be printed in the Fourth Annual Report on United States Participation in the United Nations during the calendar year 1949. I have read the letter of transmittal and recommend your approval.

Respectfully,



CHARLES S. MURPHY

85-A

April 11, 1950

FILED BY
MR. HOPKINS

MAY 21 1950

Dear Mr. McWilliams:

Your memorandum of April fifth to Mr. Hassett, concerning the suggested letter from the President to the Congress transmitting the report on U.S. activities in the United Nations during 1949, was referred to me in Mr. Hassett's absence. x419

The draft of the suggested letter from the President has now been approved by him, and it would now be in order for you to proceed with printing it in the report.

Sincerely yours,


CHARLES S. MURPHY
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. William J. McWilliams, ✕
Director, Executive Secretariat,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

x419.5

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

I transmit herewith to the Congress, pursuant to the United Nations Participation Act, ^{the} ~~my~~ fourth annual report on the activities of the United Nations and the participation of the United States. This report for the year 1949 tells an impressive story of accomplishment, much of which we are prone to overlook in the clamor of daily difficulties. I commend it to the careful reading of all our citizens.



The Charter of the United Nations is a contract among the Members to settle their disputes peacefully and to promote the economic and social advancement of all peoples, for the building and maintenance of a durable world order.

We support the United Nations and keep this contract because the Charter expresses our fundamental aims in the

modern

modern world. We know that the fulfilment of the Charter will best advance our own vital interests -- to attain peace with justice, to assure freedom, and to bring about economic and social progress, for ourselves and all peoples. It is for this reason that support of the United Nations is and must be Point 1 of our foreign policy.


Most of the nations of the world share these objectives and are working through the United Nations to achieve them. They therefore tend increasingly toward common judgments on the great issues confronting mankind. The decisions of the United Nations in 1949 show to a greater extent than in previous years that the convictions of the world's peoples on matters of fundamental concern have become clear and firm with the lessons of postwar experience.

Relations among nations have never been, and probably never will be, free from difficulties. The intensity

intensity of the East-West conflict has obscured the fact that certain critical disputes have arisen from purely local conflicts and that many such problems would continue to confront nations even if relations between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world were far different from what they are today. In a time of swift and profound change like the present, questions of adjustment of views and interests among nations are more numerous and urgent than at any previous period in history. There are few international problems that fail to confront us with the need of making decisions on the policy we should follow or the national attitude we should express in the United Nations and in our direct relations with other states. These problems make daily demands of us for sober judgment and strength of spirit and purpose. They make the same of every nation seeking to carry out the Charter.

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The United Nations is an organization to help Members resolve international difficulties. It is also a mirror in which the state of world affairs is reflected. We cannot expect from the United Nations immediate solutions of problems as large and complex as many that are before it. But already we have seen how, by its debates and decisions, it is helping to guide the nations into the ways of peace. To the extent that solutions of problems are delayed or are obtained piecemeal, we must be realistically prepared to live with them. Persistent effort through the United Nations is an expression of our faith that these problems can be solved.



This faith is not misplaced. Experience is demonstrating that the United Nations processes of debate, consultation, conciliation and agreement are capable of bringing about the peaceful settlement of disputes wherever both sides fundamentally respect

reason



reason and pledged undertakings above force. The Report for 1949 shows how greatly the United Nations has contributed to the settlement of the Indonesian dispute, how it has brought an end to the fighting in Palestine and in Kashmir, and how it continues to work energetically toward further progress in the solution of these disputes. Many lives have been saved through the success of the United Nations in moving such conflicts indoors -- from battlegrounds to conference tables.

The power of the United Nations today is that of moral force. Such force gathers its strength slowly, but it does so surely. No nation can ignore the question of how its actions will appear in the world forums of the United Nations. No nation, Member or non-Member, attending or non-attending, can avoid accountability before the United Nations for actions affecting the peace. The aroused opinion of mankind, when brought to

sharp

sharp and immediate focus, as it often is in the United Nations, is not lightly to be dismissed, even by a nation that has strong ^{armed forces} [battalions.]

Much of the useful work of the United Nations is and should be long-range in character. In some of its fields, the tasks are those of development over many years, as in the steady and seemingly prosaic steps toward the building up of international economic and social health through cooperative relations among all nations desiring to help each other. It is in such far-flung and manifold activities no less than in its efforts to handle critical tensions that the United Nations is creating fundamental conditions necessary for the growth of peace. The report I submit this year given to this work the fuller attention it merits. It shows that in economic and social fields the United Nations is becoming increasingly effective in improving the daily life of millions of people. In 1949 the Economic

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and Social Council proposed, and the General Assembly unanimously adopted, a program of technical assistance to underdeveloped areas which is directed toward the goal ~~X~~ outlined as Point IV in my inaugural address. This program of the United Nations offers solid promise for world advancement.



By related programs, the United Nations is promoting economic development in regional areas and in various fields of endeavor. Through a program of public works started in the Near East, jobless and homeless refugees can find new homes and the foundation of self-reliance through beneficial employment rather than relief alone. Special training fellowships are being given by the United Nations and the specialized agencies to hundreds of students for study. Upon request, experts are being sent to demonstrate in underdeveloped areas the advanced knowledge and techniques which the local peoples can put to practical use.

use. Export missions in the fields of public administration and finance, agriculture, medicine and health, social problems and labor matters have been sent to many countries on request of governments to tackle urgent problems that stand in the way of improved standards of living. All this work will be further intensified as the expanded program of technical assistance is put in operation.



In other fields also, progress is being pressed. The new Field Service and Panel of Field Observers provide specialized help for commissions of peaceful settlement. It has been agreed that two of the former Italian colonies, Libya and Italian Somaliland, are to become independent states. The advancement of trust areas and other non-self-governing territories is steadily being fostered through the cooperation of the administering states and the United Nations. On legal questions it is gratifying to observe the gradual increase in the use of the Court of International

Justice

Justice and the recognition that respect for and dependence upon the processes of law are essential in the building of the better world order.



These constructive activities have been overshadowed by the unsolved problems arising from the policies and acts of the Soviet Union which lead to tension and impairment of security in international relations. The United Nations rendered a great service during 1949 by asserting, in the notable resolution of the General Assembly on "Essentials of Peace", the standards of conduct necessary to restore international confidence. Each of the 53 Members other than the communist states represented in the United Nations gave its support to this fundamental call for action to build peace. By this and other steps, the United Nations made it clear that the great issues of security in the postwar period are between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world at large and that these issues arise from failures by the Soviet Union to conform its conduct to the purposes and principles of the Charter.

The international control of atomic energy stands foremost among the urgent matters calling for agreement. Effective international regulation of armaments and armed forces is a related problem of urgency.

Our experiences during 1949 in the United Nations provided further demonstration that, as the Secretary of State has recently stated, agreements with the Soviet Union and its satellites are valid only as and when they record existing situations of fact. It is not enough to hope for agreement or to make proposals; it is essential to create the conditions under which it will be to the interest of the Soviet Union to enter into and to keep agreements. All international activities which create moral, economic and military strength among the nations of the free world will broaden the area of possible agreement and hasten its coming.

We are endeavoring in the United Nations as in our other international actions to make clear to the Soviet Union that we seek to carry out the Charter in

deed

deed as in word and that we ask no more or less from any other Member. It will be our plan in the future, as it has been our practice in the past, to do all in our power to strengthen the United Nations as the primary instrument for the maintenance of peace. By our efforts to strengthen it and by our related assistance to other nations under legislation enacted by the Congress, we shall seek to make our utmost contribution to attaining the situation of fact in which agreement can become realistically possible.

The United Nations seeks agreement and the execution in good faith of agreed undertakings. This is the true basis of a world community founded on law and justice. We, for our part, will continue to negotiate and to examine every proposal in our unending effort to achieve security through effective and dependable agreement.

It is a source of encouragement that the United Nations in conducting its work is distinguishing between realities and illusions and is vigilantly insisting,

problem

problem by problem, upon solid gains through actual performance. It is striving for real peace, genuine freedom, and actual progress. This fact stands out in its record.

The walk-outs of the Soviet Union over Chinese Nationalist representation in the United Nations occurred since the events of 1949 described in this report. In the presence of this willful flouting by the Soviet Government of obligations assumed by it under the Charter, the United Nations has taken the common-sense attitude of proceeding with its business as usual.

Enclosure:

Fourth Annual Report on the
activities of the United Nations
and the participation of the
United States therein.

THE WHITE HOUSE

The President:

The accompanying Report concerning the activities of the United Nations and our participation therein during the calendar year 1949 is submitted for your consideration and, with your approval, for transmission to the Congress under the provisions of Section 4 of the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264 of the 79th Congress). The Report presents the notable record of constructive work being accomplished by the United Nations and related specialized agencies and describes the efforts of the United Nations to cope with the formidable difficulties prevailing in the world scene.



I am confident that all American citizens and all parts of the Government will find this Report of deep interest. I recommend it to your approval.

Respectfully submitted,

Enclosure:

Report.

The President,

The White House.

85-A

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

OCTOBER 23, 1950

CONFIDENTIAL: The following address of the President, to be delivered before the United Nations General Assembly, Flushing Meadows, New York, October twenty-fourth IS FOR RELEASE at 11:30 a.m., e.s.t., tomorrow TUESDAY, October 24, 1950.



CHARLES O. BOGG
Secretary to the President

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SECRETARY GENERAL, MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
AND PEOPLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS:



Five years ago today, the Charter of the United Nations came into force. By virtue of that event, October 24, 1945, became a great day in the history of the world.

Long before that day, the idea of an association of nations able to keep the peace had lived as a dream in the hearts and minds of men. Woodrow Wilson was the author of that idea in our time. The Organization that was brought into being on October 24, 1945, represents our greatest advance toward making the dream a reality.

The United Nations was born out of the agony of war -- the most terrible war in history. Those who drew up the Charter really had less to do with the creation of the United Nations than the millions who fought and died in that war. We who work to carry out its great principles should always remember that this Organization owes its existence to the blood and sacrifice of millions of men and women. It is built out of their hopes for peace and justice.

The United Nations represents the idea of a universal morality, superior to the interests of individual nations. Its foundations do not rest upon power or privilege, but upon faith. They rest upon the faith of men in human values -- upon the belief that men in every land hold the same high ideals and strive toward the same goals of peace and justice.

This faith is deeply held by the people of the United States of America and, I believe, by the peoples of all other countries.

Governments may sometimes falter in their support of the United Nations, but the peoples of the world do not falter. The

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demand of men and women throughout the world for international order and justice is one of the strongest forces in these troubled times.

We have just had a vivid demonstration of that fact in Korea. The invasion of the Republic of Korea was a direct challenge to the principles of the United Nations. That challenge was met by an overwhelming response. The people of almost every member country supported the decision of the Security Council to meet this aggression with force. Few acts in our time have met with such widespread approval.

In uniting to crush the aggression in Korea, these member nations have done no more than the Charter calls for. But the important thing is that they have done it, and have done it successfully. They have given dramatic evidence that the Charter works. They have proved that the Charter is a living instrument backed by the material and moral strength of members, large and small.

The men who laid down their lives for the United Nations in Korea will have a place in our memory, and in the memory of the world, forever. They died in order that the United Nations might live.

As a result of their sacrifices, the United Nations today is stronger than it has ever been. Today, it is better able than ever before to fulfill the hopes that men have placed in it.

I believe the people of the world rely on the United Nations to help them achieve two great purposes. They look to it to help them improve the conditions under which they live. And they rely on it to fulfill their profound longing for peace.

These two purposes are closely interwoven. Without peace, it is impossible to make lasting progress toward a better life for all. Without progress in human welfare, the foundations of peace will be insecure. That is why we can never afford to neglect one of these purposes at the expense of the other.

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- 3 -

Throughout the world today, men are seeking a better life. They want to be freed from the bondage and the injustice of the past. They want to work out their own destinies. These aspirations of mankind can be met -- met without conflict and bloodshed -- by international cooperation through the United Nations.

To us in this assembly hall, the United Nations that we see and hear is made up of speeches, debates, and resolutions.

But to millions of people, the United Nations is a source of direct help in their everyday lives. To them it is a case of food or a box of school-books; it is a doctor who vaccinates their children; it is an expert who shows them how to raise more rice, or more wheat, on their land; it is the flag which marks a safe haven to the refugee, or an extra meal a day to a nursing mother.

These are not the only ways in which the United Nations helps people to help themselves. It goes beyond these material things, and gives support to the spiritual values of men's lives.

The United Nations can and does assist people who want to be free. It helps dependent peoples in their progress toward self-government. And when new nations have achieved independence, it helps them to preserve and develop their freedom.

Furthermore, the United Nations is strengthening the concept of the dignity and worth of human beings. The protection of human rights is essential if we are to achieve a better life for people. The effort of the United Nations to push ahead toward an ever broader realization of these rights is one of its most important tasks.

So far, this work of the United Nations for human advancement is only a beginning of what it can be and will be in the future. The United Nations is learning through experience. It is growing in prestige among the peoples of the world. The increasing effectiveness of its efforts to improve the welfare of human beings is opening up a new page in history.

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The skills and experience of the United Nations in this field will be put to the test now that the fighting in Korea is nearly ended. The reconstruction of Korea as a free, united, and self-supporting nation is an opportunity to show how international cooperation can lead to gains in human freedom and welfare.

The work of the United Nations for human advancement, important as it is, can be fully effective only if we can achieve the other great objective of the United Nations, a just and lasting peace.

At the present time, the fear of another great international war overshadows all the hopes of mankind. This fear arises from the tensions between nations and from the recent outbreak of open aggression in Korea. We in the United States believe that such a war can be prevented. We do not believe that war is inevitable.

One of the strongest reasons for this belief is our faith in the United Nations.

The United Nations has three great roles to play in preventing war.

First: it provides a way for negotiation and the settlement of disputes among nations by peaceful means.

Second: it provides a way of utilizing the collective strength of member nations, under the Charter, to prevent aggression.

Third: it provides a way through which, once the danger of aggression is reduced, the nations can be relieved of the burden of armaments.

All of us must help the United Nations to be effective in performing these functions.

The Charter obligates all of us to settle our disputes peacefully. Today is an appropriate occasion for us solemnly to reaffirm our obligations under the Charter.

Within the spirit and even the letter of the Charter we

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should go even further. We must attempt to find peaceful adjustments of underlying situations or tensions before they harden into actual disputes.

The basic issues in the world today affect the fate of millions. Here, in the United Nations, there is an opportunity for the large and the small alike to have their voices heard on these issues. Here the interests of every country can be considered in the settlement of problems which are of common concern.

We believe that negotiation is an essential part of this peaceful process. The United States, as one of the members of the United Nations, is prepared now, as always, to enter into negotiations. We insist only that negotiations must be entered into in good faith and be governed throughout by a spirit of willingness to reach proper solutions.

While we will continue to take advantage of every opportunity -- here in the United Nations and elsewhere -- to settle differences by peaceful means, we have learned from hard experience that we cannot rely upon negotiation alone to preserve the peace.

Five years ago, after the bloodshed and destruction of World War II, many of us hoped that all nations would work together to make sure that war could never happen again. We hoped that international cooperation, supported by the strength and moral authority of the United Nations, would be sufficient to prevent aggression.

But this was not to be the case.



Although many countries promptly disbanded their wartime armies, other countries continued to maintain forces so large that they posed a constant threat of aggression. And this year, the invasion of Korea has shown that there are some who will resort to outright war, contrary to the principles of the Charter, if it suits their ends.

In these circumstances, the United Nations, if it is to be an effective instrument for keeping the peace, has no choice except to use the collective strength of its members to curb aggression.

To do so, the United Nations must be prepared to use force. The United Nations did use force to curb aggression in Korea, and by so doing has greatly strengthened the cause of peace. I am glad that additional steps are being taken at this session to prepare for quick and effective action in any future case of aggression.

The Resolution on United Action for Peace which is now being considered by the General Assembly recognises three important principles:

To maintain the peace, the United Nations must be able to learn the facts about any threat of aggression. Next, it must be able to call quickly upon the member nations to act if the threat becomes serious.

Above all, the peace-loving nations must have the military strength available, when called upon, to act decisively to put down aggression. The peace-loving nations are building that strength.

However much they may regret the necessity, they will continue to build up their strength until they have created forces strong enough to preserve peace under the United Nations. They will do all that is required to provide a defense against aggression. They will do that because, under the conditions which now exist in the world, it is the only way to maintain peace.

We intend to build up strength for peace so long as that is necessary. But at the same time, we must continue to strive, through the United Nations, to achieve international control of atomic energy and the reduction of armaments and armed forces. Cooperative and effective disarmament would make the danger of war remote. It would be a way of achieving the high purposes of the United Nations without the tremendous expenditures for armaments which conditions in the world today make imperative.

Disarmament is the course which the United States would prefer to take. It is the course which most nations would like to adopt. It is the course which the United Nations from its earliest beginnings has been seeking to follow.

- 7 -

For nearly five years, two Commissions of the United Nations have been working on the problem of disarmament. One Commission has been concerned with the elimination of atomic weapons and the other with the reduction of other types of armaments and of armed forces. Thus far, these commissions have not been successful in obtaining agreement among all the major powers. Nevertheless, these years of effort have served to bring to the attention of all nations the three basic principles upon which any successful plan of disarmament must rest.

First, the plan must include all kinds of weapons. Outlawing any particular kind of weapon is not enough. The conflict in Korea bears tragic witness to the fact that aggression, whatever the weapons used, brings frightful destruction.

Second, the plan must be based on unanimous agreement. A majority of nations is not enough. No plan of disarmament can work unless it includes every nation having substantial armed forces. One-sided disarmament is a sure invitation to aggression.



Third, the plan must be fool-proof. Paper promises are not enough. Disarmament must be based on safeguards which will insure the compliance of all nations. The safeguards must be adequate to give immediate warning of any threatened violation. Disarmament must be policed continuously and thoroughly. It must be founded upon free and open interchange of information across national borders.

These are simple, practical principles. If they were accepted and carried out, genuine disarmament would be possible.

It is true that, even if initial agreement were reached, tremendous difficulties would remain. The task of working out the successive steps would still be a complex one and would take a long time and much effort. But the fact that this process is so complex and so difficult is no reason for us to give up hope of ultimate success.

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The will of the world for peace is too strong to allow us to give up in this effort. We cannot permit the history of our times to record that we failed by default. We must explore every avenue which offers any chance of bringing success to the activities of the United Nations in this vital area.

Much valuable work has already been done by the two Disarmament Commissions on the different technical problems confronting them. I believe it would be useful to explore ways in which the work of those Commissions could now be more closely brought together. One possibility to be considered is whether their work might be revitalized if carried forward in the future through a new and consolidated Disarmament Commission.

But until an effective system of disarmament is established, let us be clear about the task ahead. The only course the peace-loving nations can take in the present situation is to create the armaments needed to make the world secure against aggression.

That is the course to which the United States is now firmly committed. That is the course we will continue to follow as long as it is necessary.

The United States has embarked upon the course of increasing its armed strength only for the purpose of helping to keep the peace. We pledge that strength to uphold the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We believe that the peace-loving members of the United Nations join us in that pledge.

I believe that the United Nations, strengthened by these pledges, will bring us nearer to the peace we seek.

We know that the difficulties ahead are great. We have learned from hard experience that there is no easy road to peace.

We have a solemn obligation to the peoples we represent to continue our combined efforts to achieve the strength that will prevent aggression.

At the same time, we have an equally solemn obligation

- 9 -

to continue our efforts to find solutions to the major problems and issues that divide the nations. The settlement of these differences would make possible a truly dependable and effective system for the reduction and control of armaments.

Although the possibility of attaining that goal appears distant today, we must never stop trying. For its attainment would release immense resources for the good of all mankind. It would free the nations to devote more of their energies to wiping out poverty, hunger, and injustice.

If real disarmament were achieved, the nations of the world, acting through the United Nations, could join in a greatly enlarged program of mutual aid. As the cost of maintaining armaments decreased, every nation could greatly increase its contributions to advancing human welfare. All of us could then pool even greater resources to support the United Nations in its war against want.

In this way, our armaments would be transformed into foods, medicine, tools for use in underdeveloped areas, and into other aids for human advancement. The latest discoveries of science could be made available to men all over the globe. Thus, we could give real meaning to the old promise that swords shall be beaten into plowshares, and that the nations shall not learn war any more.

Then, men can turn his great inventiveness, his tremendous energies, and the resources with which he has been blessed, to creative efforts. Then we shall be able to realize the kind of world which has been the vision of man for centuries.

This is the goal which we must keep before us -- and the vision in which we must never lose faith. This will be our inspiration, and, with God's help, we shall attain our goal.

Original
for Pres

85-A

July 13, 1951

FILED BY
MR. HOPKINS
JUL 27 1951

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FIRST:

Herewith is the revised message which has been approved by the President for transmittal to the Congress of the report on United States Participation in the United Nations, 1950. -H-

It is my understanding that Mr. Elsey has spoken to you on the phone about this and called your attention to the fact that this approved original contains several changes from the draft which accompanied your memorandum of July twelfth.

It is also my understanding that this message of transmittal, when printed, will bear the date on which the report is to be transmitted to the Congress.



WILLIAM J. HOPKINS
Executive Clerk

wjh-rdh

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Report filed in Legal Case
1 copy filed in Book Collection
1 copy filed in Duplicate File 7892-4/22/51

ADDRESS OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

July 12, 1951

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM J. HOPKINS

Subject: Signature of revised President's letter of transmittal to the Congress of the report on United States Participation in the United Nations, 1950.

On May 15, 1951 you returned to Mr. McWilliams in the Office of the Secretary, the President's signed letter of transmittal to the Congress of the report on United States participation in the United Nations. The page proofs of this report recently were sent to this office for review. The review indicates that two minor changes are necessary in the President's letter of transmittal.

(1) In the original letter the President referred to Cuba as a prospective contributor of fighting forces for Korea. Subsequently, the Cuban contribution failed to materialize. Therefore, the following sentence in the President's letter:

"Fighting units from Colombia, Cuba, and Ethiopia are on their way to Korea or are being prepared for service there."

has been changed to read:

"Fighting units from Ethiopia arrived in Korea in early May 1951, and units from Colombia are expected to arrive in early June 1951."

This change occurs in the last paragraph on page three of the revised letters which are enclosed for the President's signature.

(2) The original letter was not dated because of the usual practice of affixing the date of publication to the letter. However, the delay in publication and the rapid developments in Korea make it necessary to date the letter as of May 15.

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I cleared these changes with Mr. George Elasy by telephone yesterday. The changes are incorporated in the revised letters which are enclosed. I would appreciate anything you can do to facilitate the President's signature of the revised letters. The corrected page proofs of the report are due back at the Government Printing Office on July 13.

The signed letters should be returned to me.



Herbert A. Fierst

Herbert A. Fierst
Special Assistant to the
Assistant Secretary for
United Nations Affairs

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

I transmit herewith, pursuant to the United Nations Participation Act, a report on our participation in the work of the United Nations during 1950.

~~(I commend it to the careful study of the Congress and of all our citizens.)~~

It is a record of decision and action in the face of danger and, at the same time, a record of increasing efforts to promote human progress in the attainment of the basic objectives of the United Nations Charter. It is for the most part a record of solidarity among United Nations members against aggression.

The struggle of the United Nations against Communist aggression in 1950 has a deep significance that reaches beyond the momentary successes and reverses recorded. This significance lies in the simple fact that the United Nations acted promptly and resolutely, and with success, against deliberate, treacherous, and well-prepared

aggression.

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aggression. The aggressors and their supporters undoubtedly believed that the Organization and its members would not come to the defense of Korea with timely and effective help. It is probable that one of the purposes of the attack was to break down—through such a failure — any possibility of effective United Nations action against aggression in the future.



As the world knows, the United Nations met the assault squarely and without hesitation. In so doing, it made clear that an aggressor will not be allowed to isolate and destroy his victims one by one. The United Nations elected to act now rather than to drift passively once more down the fatal trail of failure to oppose aggression which leads finally to total war. Thousands of men have therefore sacrificed their lives in Korea to the end that millions may not lose their lives in a world war.

There is much to indicate that the resolute resistance of United Nations troops has given pause to those aggressive forces which cold-bloodedly brought tragedy to Korea.

In these great events the United States has taken a worthy and responsible part. American troops fighting in Korea are a

Truman

major bulwark of the international community against the barbarous forces that would debase and destroy it. American fighting men have rarely in all our history struck more important blows for human freedom and welfare. I am proud— and I know the American people are proud— of the fight which our men, together with their comrades in arms, have waged ~~wherever~~ in Korea.

The army and people of the Republic of Korea have heroically and patiently endured the brunt of the ~~Communist~~ aggression. The story of their unwavering resistance to that aggression is an epic in the annals of the struggle of free men to maintain their liberty and independence.

I should like to pay special tribute to the gallant fighting men of the other countries who defended the cause of the United Nations in battle during 1950— men from Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, the Union of South Africa, and the United Kingdom.

Fighting units from Ethiopia arrived in Korea in early May, 1951, and units from ³ Colombia ~~are expected to arrive~~ ^{arrived} in early June, 1951.

Hospital units and ships from Denmark, India, Norway, and Sweden also ^{are} ~~are~~ operating in the Korean ~~area~~ ^{area}.

United Nations

United Nations action in Korea has been truly collective action. Concrete aid in the form of combat troops, ships and planes, field hospitals and medical equipment, other equipment, supplies, and food has been made available by ³⁹ members of the United Nations; political support, by no less than 53 members. These countries vary greatly in their abilities to contribute to a collective military operation such as that in Korea. Contributions equal in number and identical in kind are obviously impossible. Nevertheless it must be recognized that every ^{free} country, large and small, is vitally— and I should say equally— interested in world security. ~~It is my belief that the contributions of member nations will tend to be adjusted on an equitable basis as our common effort develops.~~

Much has been said in the Congress and in ~~public~~ public forums on all phases of our action in Korea. Discussion and honest criticism are in the best traditions of our people and are in fact essential to the working of our system of government. As on other subjects, I welcome them in connection with our record in the United Nations. Throughout the world, Communist propaganda has of course sought to represent this country's action as "imperialism"

dictated

dictated by material interests. I do not believe that, wherever the channels of opinion are free, our basic purposes will be misunderstood. Our action in the Korean crisis was not dictated by any American material interest there. We neither sought nor do we seek any special position or privilege in Korea. Our action in the crisis was motivated by our ⁴deep conviction of the importance of preventing a breakdown of the international security system and of the principles of the Charter. I was convinced then, and I am convinced now, that to have ignored the appeal of Korea for aid, to have stood aside from the assault upon the Charter, would have meant the end of the United Nations as a shield against aggression. It might have meant the end of any possibility that collective security could be made to work.



Under the Charter, the United Nations must afford protection against aggression, whether committed by big countries or by small countries. Just as the United Nations branded as aggression the original assault by the North Korean Communist regime, so it has branded as aggression the later intervention by the Chinese Communist regime and its attack upon United Nations forces. There are not two laws, one for small and one for large countries.

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Indeed it is hard to see how the United Nations could ever operate under such a double standard. This does not of course mean that the United Nations ^{has} ~~will in this case act~~ acted blindly, without carefully considering the effects of its measures. In fact the record shows a most careful concern by the great majority of members, including this country, to avoid extension of the conflict and to preserve unity while maintaining our objective of resisting aggression.



While our primary and immediate task has been defense against aggression and the creation of collective measures for accomplishing this more effectively, we have ⁵ not lost sight of the objective of creating an international security system based upon the reduction and control of armaments. In my statement to the General Assembly on October 24, 1950, I made clear our continued determination to work toward this goal in every practicable way.

The aggression against the United Nations has brought home to all peoples the imperative need for developing more effective means to deal with aggression within the framework of the United Nations. The Korean case has demonstrated that the United Nations

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can act effectively against aggression through recommendations of the Security Council, or the General Assembly, if the Security Council is paralyzed by the veto. But in Korea the participating nations had to improvise their measures from the ground up.

It was to meet this need that Secretary ^{the} ~~of State~~ ^{of State} launched at the beginning of the General Assembly in September the proposals which were developed into the Uniting for Peace Resolution.

Mr. Acheson said:


"The world waits to see whether we can build on the start we have made. The United Nations must move forward energetically to develop a more adequate system of collective security. If it does not move forward, it will move back.

"... The General Assembly can and should organize itself to discharge its responsibility promptly and decisively if the Security Council is prevented from acting."

This resolution can mark the beginning of a great step forward in the development of the United Nations as an instrument for collective action to maintain peace and put down aggression.

We place great hope in the program projected by this resolution, particularly the provisions relative to the maintenance by members of the United Nations of armed forces for possible service as United Nations units, and the Collective Measures Committee set up to study and report on possible methods of maintaining and strengthening international peace and security. We shall give our full support to the aims and objectives of the program and to the work of this Committee in developing them.

Despite the emphasis which the United Nations has been
Stet → compelled to give during ^{*the*} ~~the last year~~ to action to meet ^{*the last year*} aggression, it has intensified rather than slackened its various activities to promote human progress in attainment of other basic objectives of the Charter.



One of the fundamental human aspirations is the desire to control one's own destiny or, phrased in another way, to exercise the rights of self-government or independence. The organs of the United Nations which are charged with the responsibility of fulfilling the purposes of the Charter with respect to the development of non-self-governing people made notable progress

~~during~~


The United States
during the past year. ~~This country~~ has contributed fully to
these efforts.

The United Nations has intensified its efforts to combat
the perennial enemies of mankind-- hunger, disease, and ignorance.
Through many channels and in numerous programs, the United Nations
and the specialized agencies have furthered the basic goal of
"the creation of conditions of stability and well being which
are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations."
Of particular significance this past year was the inauguration
of an expanded program of technical assistance for the economic
development of underdeveloped countries. Some 56 countries of
the free world have participated by making contributions, and
48 countries have initiated programs designed to use the facilities
of the United Nations and specialized agencies in the development
of their own human and material resources and in raising their
standards of living. The United States has actively supported
these activities and will continue to do so.

The weakness and the strength of the United Nations
manifested in 1950 were those of a human endeavor which is still

in

in its infancy. Despite centuries of effort, nations have only recently been able to cooperate effectively on a world-wide scale to achieve security and their other common purposes. In our limited experience we have met with many difficulties and reverses and will meet more in the future. But we have also achieved tangible success, and this success gives ground for hope that we are moving ahead on the right track. It is essential for all of us to understand that a stable peace can be achieved only through long, hard work and sacrifice. I am sure that the people of this country and of practically all countries realize that the goal of peace is worth this work and this sacrifice.

Under the stress of events in 1950 the members of the United Nations did not, of course, always see completely ⁸ eye to eye. Nevertheless as loyal members the great majority strove to  accommodate their views and action to the fullest possible extent in the interest of the major purposes of the United Nations. No nation has a monopoly of wisdom. Even among peoples sincerely devoted to United Nations principles— the overwhelming majority— there are bound to be differences concerning the best methods of

~~passing~~

putting these principles into effect. When we attempt honestly and frankly to work out these differences in the common interest, no one nation can expect to have its way completely. But decisions that are the result of discussions by many countries have a moral and political force in the international community which unilateral decisions seldom have.

Two years ago I said that the first point of our four-point foreign-policy program would be "to give unfaltering support to the United Nations and related agencies" and "to continue to search for ways to strengthen their authority and increase their effectiveness."

The record of our participation in 1950, set forth in the following pages, shows that we have not faltered in our support. I know the American people are determined to persevere in this course.

Enclosure:

Report to the Congress
on our participation in
the work of the United
Nations during 1950.

THE WHITE HOUSE

~~May 15, 1951~~

July — 1957

FILED BY
MR. HOFFMAN
JUN 23 1952

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

June 13, 1952

The President:

The accompanying report on the activities of the United Nations during 1951 and on the participation of the United States therein is submitted for your consideration and, upon your approval, for transmission to the Congress in accordance with Section 4 of the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Congress).

The report is a record of steady, cumulative progress through the United Nations toward the goal of a peaceful and secure world. It provides tangible evidence of the value of international cooperation across a broad range of human activities. Our stake in these cooperative efforts is so great that I am sure this report will be of interest and value to the Congress and to all Americans.

I recommend it for your approval.

Respectfully submitted,

John F. Eisenhower

The President,

The White House.

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Mr. Eisenhower
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Nease
Mr. Gandy

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FILED BY
 BILL HOPKINS
 JUL 7 1952

June 12, 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NECHLER:

Confirming our telephone conversation, the President has given his verbal approval to the attached draft of message transmitting, pursuant to the United Nations Participation Act, the report on the work of the United States in the United Nations during 1951.

As you know, after this message has been incorporated by the Department of State in the document to be printed, we must have signature copies which the President will sign and which will then be transmitted to the Congress by this office in the usual manner.



WILLIAM J. HOPKINS
 Executive Clerk

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TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

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I transmit herewith, pursuant to the United Nations Participation Act, a report on the work of the United States in the United Nations during 1951.



This will be my last report, as President, to the Congress on our participation in the United Nations.

I have dedicated my seven years as President of the United States to working for world peace. That has been my paramount aim since becoming President. The first order I issued after being sworn into office on April 12, 1945, was that the United States should carry out its plan to participate in the United Nations Conference, which met on April 25 in San Francisco. Since that time, the United Nations has been the mainstay of our work to build a peaceful and decent world.

During these years, the United Nations has faced many trials and difficulties. In 1945, there were high hopes that this partnership of nations would quickly lead to permanent peace and the

advancement

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advancement of the general welfare of the nations. But these hopes have been dimmed by the conflicts of the succeeding years, and by the hostile attitude of the Soviet Union. As a result, voices have been raised, questioning the value for us of the United Nations and the need for maintaining it.



Nevertheless, in spite of all these difficulties and discouragements, the United Nations remains the best means available to our generation for achieving peace for the community of nations. The United Nations, in this respect, is vital to our future as a free people. In this message, I want to explain why this is true, and to sum up a few of the reasons why we should continue to support the United Nations in this dangerous period in the history of mankind.

The need for a world organization of nations should have been made clear to us by the first World War. But President Wilson's pioneering efforts to organize world peace through the League of Nations were thwarted by some Americans who still thought we could turn back the clock of history. We had to pay a terrible price

for that

for that kind of narrow thinking in the second World War.

Our victory over the Axis gave us another chance to work with the other nations in a united effort to prevent war. This time we assumed our responsibilities, and took part in launching a far stronger world organization for peace.

In the United Nations, we have pledged our support to the basic principles of sovereign equality, mutual respect among nations, and justice and morality in international affairs. By the Charter, all United Nations members are bound to settle their disputes peacefully rather than by the use of force. They pledge themselves to take common action against root causes of unrest and war, and to promote the common interests of the nations in peace, security, and general well-being.

These principles are not new in the world, but they are the only sure foundation for lasting peace. Centuries of history have made it clear that peace cannot be maintained for long unless there is an international organization to embody these principles and put them into effect.

The United Nations

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The United Nations provides a world-wide forum in which those principles can be applied to international affairs. In the General Assembly, all member nations have to stand up and be counted on issues which directly involve the peace of the world. In the United Nations, no country can escape the judgement of mankind. This is the first and greatest weapon against aggression and international immorality. It is the greatest strength of the United Nations. And because we, as a Nation, sincerely desire to establish the rule of international justice, this is a precious instrument, a great asset, that we should constantly seek to reinforce, that we should never ignore, or cast away.



This great moral value of the United Nations has been clearly demonstrated with respect to the conduct of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet leaders have been dominated by the doctrine of communism, by the concept of the use of force, unchecked by ethical considerations. This doctrine has led the Kremlin into a course of international conduct, which threatens the peace of the world, similar to that of the Nazis and other

aggressor nations of history. By stirring up class warfare,

subverting

- 5 -

subverting free governments, and employing lies, intimidation, and conquest, the Soviet Union has pursued a policy of extending its control without regard to the sovereignty of other nations, or respect for their rights.

This policy might have been irresistible, if it had not been clearly and decisively brought to the bar of world opinion in the United Nations.



The proceedings of the United Nations, time and time again, have proclaimed to the world that the Soviets have not lived up to the principles of liberty, morality, justice, and peace to which they profess to subscribe. Through the United Nations, the international conscience has relentlessly exposed and sternly resisted the attempts of the Kremlin to impose a rule of force upon the peace-loving nations of the world.

This process has strengthened freedom. It has given courage to the faint-hearted, who might otherwise have yielded to the forces of communism. It has presented the truth to those who might have

been deceived

been deceived by communist propaganda. And, as a result, the principles of international justice ^{and} of freedom and mutual respect ^{will} still exercise a far greater sway over the minds of men than the false beliefs of communism.



By itself, of course, this moral function of the United Nations would not be enough. The collective conscience of the world is not enough to repel aggression and establish order. We have learned that moral judgements must be supported by force to be effective. This is why we went into Korea. We were right in what we did in Korea in June 1950, ^{and} we are right in holding firm against aggression there now.

Korea might have been the end of the United Nations. When the aggression began, the free nations might have yielded their principles, ^{and} followed the dreary road of appeasement that, in the past, had led from Manchuria to Munich and then to World War II. But Korea had the opposite effect. When the communist aggressors brutally violated the Republic of Korea, the United Nations acted with unprecedented speed, ^{and} rallied the international conscience

to meet the

to meet the challenge. And, with our country proudly in the lead, the free nations went into the conflict against aggression.

It is profoundly heartening to remember that far-off Ethiopia, which had been one of the first victims of the fatal policy of the 1930's, sent troops to fight in Korea. The free nations now understand that nobody can be safe anywhere unless all free nations band together to resist aggression the first time it occurs.

In Korea, the United Nations forces have repelled communist aggression, they have forced the aggressors to abandon their objectives and negotiate for an armistice, and they have demonstrated that the course of conquest is mortally dangerous. The success of the United Nations in repelling the attack in Korea has given the free world time to build its defensive strength against communist aggression.



We are working to strengthen the United Nations by building up a security system in accordance with the purposes of the Charter, that will protect the community of nations against aggression from any source. We are working, in important regions of the world, to

build the
to protect the

build the pillars of this collective strength through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Rio Treaty, and the security treaties in the Pacific. All this is being done under the Charter as a means of fulfilling the United Nations purpose of maintaining world peace. The progress we have made since the Korean aggression started has now begun to tip the scales toward real security for ourselves and all other peace-loving peoples.



Such measures are necessary to meet the present threat of aggression. But we cannot admit that mankind must suffer forever under the burden of armaments and the tensions of greatly enlarged defense programs. We must try in every way, not only to settle differences peaceably, but also to lighten the load of defense preparations. In this task, the United Nations is the most important, if not the only avenue of progress.

On October 24, 1950, in an address to the General Assembly of the United Nations, I outlined the principles which must guide disarmament. This was followed up by concrete proposals which were presented at the 1951 session of the General Assembly in Paris.

These proposals

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These proposals involved a world census of armaments, a reduction of armaments and armed forces, and the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, all under a foolproof system of inspection. The Disarmament Commission of the United Nations is now discussing these proposals, and if they are adopted they will not only enhance world security, but also free vast energies and resources of the world for constructive ends. This program of disarmament offers a way out of the conflict of our times. If the Soviet Union will accept it in good faith, it will be possible to go forward at the same time to reconcile other conflicting national interests under the principles of international morality.



These disarmament proposals emphasize anew that our objective is world peace. We hope that the day will come when the Soviet Union, seeing that it cannot make aggression and subversion work, will modify its policies so that all nations can live together peacefully in the same world. Therefore, we must continue to test Soviet willingness to take tangible steps toward easing international tensions. We must continue to keep the door open in the

United Nations

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United Nations for the Soviet Union to join the great majority of countries on the road to peace.

Among the nations of the free world, the United Nations performs the valuable function of settling disputes and terminating conflict. It has been notably successful in localizing and diminishing dangerous situations which might otherwise have torn the free world apart and paved the way for communist expansion. In Indonesia, Palestine and Kashmir, the United Nations stopped serious fighting and persuaded the combatants to take steps toward a peaceful settlement of their differences. In many other cases, the United Nations has prevented disputes from erupting into violence.



We must remember that the challenge of international lawlessness is not only military, but also political and economic. The United Nations is helping dependent peoples to move toward greater freedom. The United Nations is taking measures to promote extensive international progress in such fields as agriculture, communication and transportation, education, health and living standards.

standards. Its technical assistance programs and our own Point Four activities are providing dramatic examples of tangible accomplishments at relatively little cost. The United Nations in this way is helping to build healthier societies, which in the long run are the best defense against communism and the best guarantee of peace.



During the past seven years, our work in the United Nations has been carried out on a strictly nonpartisan basis. Able men and women from both political parties and both Houses of Congress have represented this country in the General Assembly. Nevertheless, partisan attacks have been made on the United Nations. Some of these attacks are made in a spirit of impatience that can only lead to the holocaust of world-wide war. Most of those who urge us to "go it alone" are blind to the fact that such a course would destroy the solid progress toward world peace which the United Nations has made in the past seven years. I am confident that the American people will reject these voices of despair. We can win peace, but we cannot win it alone. And, above all, we cannot win

it by force

it by force alone. We can win the peace only by continuing to work
for international justice and morality through the United Nations.

THE WHITE HOUSE,

File

*Present signed
the printed Copies*

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 I submit herewith my first annual report to the Congress on the activities of the United Nations and the Participation of the United States therein.*



The Charter of the United Nations came into force as a fundamental law for the peoples of the world on October 24, 1945. The General Assembly convened for the first time in London in January 1946. It elected the Secretary-General and brought into being the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the International Court of Justice.

In December 1946, at the Second Part of its First Session, in New York, the General Assembly completed its main organizational tasks by establishing the Trusteeship Council. Thus all of the principal organs of the United Nations have now been established. All of them, except the Trusteeship Council, have been working on their appointed tasks during most of the past year.

The policy of the United States, as I told the General Assembly in New York on October 23, 1946, is to "support the United Nations with all the resources that we possess ... not as a temporary expedient but as a permanent partnership".

*On March 19, 1946, I transmitted to the Congress the Report submitted to me by the Secretary of State on the First Part of the First Session of the General Assembly in London.



That policy—in season and out—in the face of temporary failure as well as in moments of success—has the support of the overwhelming majority of the American people. It must continue to have this support if the United States is to fulfill its appointed role in the United Nations, if the United Nations is to fulfill its purposes and if our land is to be preserved from the disaster of another and far more terrible war.

In the work of the United Nations during the past year the United States has sought constantly to carry out that policy. Our representatives have spoken for the whole nation. They have been Democrats and Republicans, members of both the executive and legislative branches of our government, men and women from private life.

The work of the United Nations during the past year has been the work of building foundations for the future.

First of all, there have been the structural foundations. The Assembly, the Councils, the Court and the Secretariat have had a vast amount of organizational work to do in order to establish themselves as functioning agencies of the international community. Much of this has been pioneering work. The whole structure of the United Nations is a far more extensive endeavor in international cooperation than the nations have ever before attempted.

The essential parts of this structure include not only the principal organs established by the Charter. They



include equally the specialized agencies, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labor Organization, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, the proposed World Health Organization and International Trade Organization and several others. Each of these specialized agencies operates in a specific field under its own constitution. Each is or will be related to the central structure of the United Nations through the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly. There is scarcely a field of activity having a common interest for the peoples of the world for which continuing instruments of international cooperation have not been developed during the past year.

Perhaps the most immediately significant development of the past year in this direction was the General Assembly's demonstration of its power to influence the policies of nations and to bring about greater understanding among them. The Assembly possesses few definitive powers. It makes recommendations that can be translated into effective law only by the action of the nations concerned. But the Assembly during its meetings in New York expressed a higher sovereignty of the people's will in a manner which promises much for its development as a dominant power for peace and progress in the world.

The building of the structural foundations of the United Nations during the past year has been accompanied by



action over a very broad field toward giving life and meaning to the purposes and principles of the Charter.

There has been progress toward building security from war. Step by step we have advanced the first part of the way toward agreement on the essential principles of a truly effective international system of control over the means of destruction that science has placed in the hands of mankind.

The initiative in the control of atomic energy and other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction was taken by the United States. The resolution creating the Atomic Energy Commission was adopted at the first meeting of the General Assembly in London. The United States presented in the Atomic Energy Commission last June its proposals for international control of atomic energy. The Soviet Union opposed these proposals, but the Commission worked throughout the summer and fall to build the bases for agreement.

In October the Soviet Union introduced in the General Assembly proposals on the general regulation and reduction of armaments that seemed at first far removed from the United States position. Nevertheless, seven weeks later the Assembly was able to adopt unanimously a resolution reaffirming all the principles of the Atomic Energy Resolution and reflecting for the first time unanimous agreement on the essential principle of a system of international control and inspection established by treaty and not subject to any veto in its operations.



action. The Security Council's application on a continuing basis of the public and peaceful methods of the council chamber to the settlement of disputes between nations is a new development in international relations, the significance of which gives every promise of becoming more apparent in the year ahead.

Important steps have been taken by the United Nations during the past year toward economic reconstruction and toward establishing the necessary basis for an expanding peace-time trade and employment.

A draft Trade Charter establishing principles and practices aimed at increasing the volume of world trade and employment by reducing or eliminating artificial trade barriers and restrictions has been proposed by the United States and is now being developed by a Preparatory Committee of eighteen nations. One of the primary United Nations' tasks of the year ahead is the adoption of such a Charter and the creation of an International Trade Organization to carry it out.

The General Assembly has unanimously asked the Economic and Social Council to act on recommendations for the reconstruction and integration of the European economy and establishment of an Economic Commission for Europe. This Commission would unite all the interested countries, including the Soviet Union on the East and the United States on the West, in a common program. Steps toward economic reconstruction and development in the Far East will also be undertaken by the Economic and Social Council this year.



Progress has also been made by the Economic and Social Council and the specialized agencies during the past year in many other respects. It is not too much to say that the establishment and maintenance of lasting peace will depend in large part upon the ability of the United Nations to carry through to a successful conclusion the work it has begun toward world economic recovery and cooperation.

The promotion and protection of basic human rights for all peoples is a fundamental purpose of the United Nations. Active support for the wider realization of these rights and freedoms has been and should continue to be a primary objective of United States policy in the United Nations.

During the past year our representatives in the Assembly and the Economic and Social Council took the initiative in writing a charter for the International Refugee Organization under which the right to freedom and another chance for a decent life of a million victims of war and racial, political, or religious oppression would be preserved. I shall recommend to the Congress prompt acceptance of the constitution of the IRO and appropriation of our share of the expenses of its program.

The United States believes that freedom of information must be realized on a far wider basis than exists in the world today if the United Nations is to succeed. We have strongly supported the policy of public debate of all issues in the United Nations because this promotes public knowledge and understanding and gives the peoples of the world a more direct opportunity to influence the results. We have also asked for action to break



down the barriers to a wider, freer flow of information in the world. Preparations are now going forward for a world conference on freedom of information before the end of this year as one step in this direction.

The provisions of the Charter relating to dependent peoples offer to those hundreds of millions who do not yet govern themselves their best hope for attainment of this and other basic human rights and freedoms. The United States representatives took a leading part in the General Assembly in bringing about the establishment of the Trusteeship System in the face of sharp disagreements and other major difficulties that might have caused indefinite delay. The United States will support further steps during the coming year toward strengthening the Trusteeship System.

America has long been a symbol of freedom and democratic progress to peoples less favored than we have been. We must maintain their belief in us by our policies and our acts.

One of the important long-range achievements of the General Assembly's first session was the adoption of resolutions introduced by the United States on the codification and development of international law.

The General Assembly unanimously directed its committee on codification to give first attention to the charter and the decision of the Nuremberg Tribunal, under which aggressive war is a crime against humanity for which individuals as well as states must be punished. The Assembly also agreed



that genocide—the deliberate policy of extermination of a race or class or any other human group—was a crime under international law. These developments toward the application of international law to individuals as well as to states are of profound significance to the state. We cannot have lasting peace unless a genuine rule of world law is established and enforced.

The justifiable hope and confidence to which the great progress of the United Nations in the past year has given rise can be betrayed and lost. The difficulties and dangers that lie before us are many and serious. They are strewn across the road that leads to the final peace settlements, to the establishment and maintenance of collective security, to the control of atomic energy and regulation and reduction of other arms, to the attainment of economic recovery and an expanding world economy, and to the wider realization of human rights.

Our policy of supporting the United Nations "with all the resources that we possess" must be given effective practical application on a genuinely national, bipartisan basis in every activity of the United Nations. This is just as necessary in the economic and social field as it is in the political field. We must pursue without hesitation bipartisan policies of economic cooperation with the rest of the world in such matters as economic reconstruction and development and the expansion of world trade and employment. Because of the inter-dependence



of the economy of nations, it will also be vital to world recovery as well as to our own prosperity that we maintain at home a stable economy of high employment.

The responsibility of the United States is a particularly heavy one because of the power and influence that our history and our material resources have placed in our hands. No nation has a higher stake in the outcome than our own.

THE WHITE HOUSE,



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THE WHITE HOUSE,

*Original of this
document given
to Mr. Fletcher
2/9/44*

To the Congress of the United States



I transmit herewith, pursuant to the United Nations Participation Act, a report on the work of the United States in the United Nations during 1951.

This will be my last report, as President, to the Congress on our participation in the United Nations.

I have dedicated my seven years as President of the United States to working for world peace. That has been my paramount aim since becoming President. The first order I issued after being sworn into office on April 12, 1945, was that the United States should carry out its plan to participate in the United Nations Conference, which met on April 25 in San Francisco. Since that time, the United Nations has been the mainstay of our work to build a peaceful and decent world.

During these years, the United Nations has faced many trials and difficulties. In 1945, there were high hopes that this partnership of nations would quickly lead to permanent peace and the advancement of the general welfare of the nations. But these hopes have been dimmed by the conflicts of the succeeding years, and by the hostile attitude of the Soviet Union. As a result, voices have been raised, questioning the value for us of the United Nations and the need for maintaining it.

Nevertheless, in spite of all these difficulties and discouragements, the United Nations remains the best means available to our generation for achieving peace for the community of nations. The United Nations, in this respect, is vital to our future as a free people. In this message, I want to explain why this is true, and to sum up a few of the reasons why we should continue to support the United Nations in this dangerous period in the history of mankind.

The need for a world organization of nations should have been made clear to us by the first World War. But President Wilson's pioneering efforts to organize world peace through the League of Nations were thwarted by some Americans who still thought we could turn back the clock of history. We had to pay a terrible price for that kind of narrow thinking in the second World War.

7-1-48

Our victory over the Axis gave us another chance to work with the other nations in a united effort to prevent war. This time we assumed our responsibilities, and took part in launching a far stronger world organization for peace.

In the United Nations, we have pledged our support to the basic principles of sovereign equality, mutual respect among nations, and justice and morality in international affairs. By the Charter, all United Nations members are bound to settle their disputes peacefully rather than by the use of force. They pledge themselves to take common action against root causes of unrest and war, and to promote the common interests of the nations in peace, security and general well-being.

These principles are not new in the world, but they are the only sure foundation for lasting peace. Centuries of history have made it clear that peace cannot be maintained for long unless there is an international organization to embody these principles and put them into effect.

The United Nations provides a world-wide forum in which these principles can be applied to international affairs. In the General Assembly, all member nations have to stand up and be counted on issues which directly involve the peace of the world. In the United Nations, no country can escape the judgment of mankind. This is the first and greatest weapon against aggression and international immorality. It is the greatest strength of the United Nations. And because we, as a Nation, sincerely desire to establish the rule of international justice, this is a precious instrument, a great asset, that we should constantly seek to reinforce -- that we should never ignore, or cast away.

This great moral value of the United Nations has been clearly demonstrated with respect to the conduct of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet leaders have been dominated by the doctrine of communism -- the concept of the use of force, unchecked by ethical considerations. This doctrine has led the Kremlin into a course of international conduct similar to that of the Nazis and other aggressor nations of history. By stirring up class warfare, subverting free governments, and employing lies, intimidation and conquest, the Soviet Union has pursued a policy of extending its control without regard to the sovereignty of other nations, or respect for their rights.

This policy might have been irresistible, if it had not been clearly and decisively brought to the bar of world opinion in the United Nations.

The proceedings of the United Nations, time and time again, have proclaimed to the world that the Soviets have not lived up to the principles of liberty, morality, justice and peace to which they profess to subscribe. Through the United Nations, the international conscience has relentlessly exposed and sternly resisted the attempts of the Kremlin to impose a rule of force upon the peace-loving nations of the world.

This process has strengthened freedom. It has given courage to the faint-hearted, who might otherwise have yielded to the forces of communism. It has presented the truth to those who might have been deceived by communist propaganda. And, as a result, the principles of international justice — of freedom and mutual respect — still exercise a far greater sway over the minds of men than the false beliefs of communism.

By itself, of course, this moral function of the United Nations would not be enough. The collective conscience of the world is not enough to repel aggression and establish order. We have learned that moral judgments must be supported by force to be effective. This is why we went into Korea. We were right in what we did in Korea in June 1950 — we are right in holding firm against aggression there now.

Korea might have been the end of the United Nations. When the aggression began, the free nations might have yielded their principles, and followed the dreary road of appeasement that, in the past, had led from Munich to Munich and then to World War II. But Korea had the opposite effect. When the communist aggressors brutally violated the Republic of Korea, the United Nations acted with unprecedented speed, and rallied the international conscience to meet the challenge. And, with our country proudly in the lead, the free nations went into the conflict against aggression.

It is profoundly heartening to remember that far-off Ethiopia, which had been one of the first victims of the fatal policy of the 1930's, sent troops to fight in Korea. The free nations now understand that nobody can be safe anywhere unless all free nations band together to resist aggression the first time it occurs.

In Korea, the United Nations forces have repelled communist aggression, they have forced the aggressors to abandon their objectives and negotiate for an armistice, and they have demonstrated that the course of conquest is mortally dangerous. The success of the United Nations in repelling the attack in Korea has given the free world time to build its defensive strength against communist aggression.

We are working to strengthen the United Nations by building up a security system in accordance with the purposes of the Charter, that will protect the community of nations against aggression from any source. We are working, in important regions of the world, to build the pillars of this collective strength through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Rio Treaty, and the security treaties in the Pacific. All this is being done under the Charter as a means of fulfilling the United Nations purpose of maintaining world peace. The progress we have made since the Korean aggression started has now begun to tip the scales toward real security for ourselves and all other peace-loving peoples.

Such measures are necessary to meet the present threat of aggression. But we cannot admit that mankind must suffer forever under the burden of armaments and the tensions of greatly enlarged defense programs. We must try in every way, not only to settle differences peacefully, but also to lighten the load of defense preparations. In this task, the United Nations is the most important, if not the only avenue of progress.

On October 24, 1950, in an address to the General Assembly of the United Nations, I outlined the principles which must guide disarmament. This was followed up by concrete proposals which were presented at the 1951 session of the General Assembly in Paris. These proposals involved a world census of armaments, a reduction of armaments and armed forces, and the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, all under a fool-proof system of inspection. The Disarmament Commission of the United Nations is now discussing these proposals and if they are adopted they will not only enhance world security, but also free vast energies and resources of the world for constructive ends. This program of disarmament offers a way out of the conflict of our times. If the Soviet Union will accept it in good faith, it will be possible to go forward at the same time to reconcile other conflicting national interests under the principles of international morality.

These disarmament proposals emphasize now that our objective is world peace. We hope that the day will come when the Soviet Union, seeing that it cannot make aggression and subversion work, will modify its policies so that all nations can live together peacefully in the same world. Therefore, we must continue to test Soviet willingness to take tangible steps toward easing international tensions. We must continue to keep the door open in the United Nations for the Soviet Union to join the great majority of countries on the road to peace.

Among the nations of the free world, the United Nations performs the valuable function of settling disputes and terminating conflict. It has been notably successful in localizing and diminishing dangerous situations which might otherwise have torn the free world apart and paved the way for communist expansion. In Indonesia, Palestine and Kashmir, the United Nations stopped serious fighting and persuaded the combatants to take steps toward a peaceful settlement of their differences. In many other cases, the United Nations has prevented disputes from erupting into violence.

We must remember that the challenge of international lawlessness is not only military, but also political and economic. The United Nations is helping dependent peoples to move toward greater freedom. The United Nations is taking measures to promote extensive international progress in such fields as agriculture, communication and transportation, education, health and living standards. Its technical assistance programs, and our own Point Four activities, are providing dramatic examples of tangible accomplishments at relatively little cost. The United Nations in this way is helping to build healthier societies, which in the long run are the best defense against communism and the best guarantee of peace.

During the past seven years, our work in the United Nations has been carried out on a strictly nonpartisan basis. Able men and women from both political parties and both Houses of Congress have represented this country in the General Assembly. Nevertheless, partisan attacks have been made on the United Nations. Some of these attacks have been made in a spirit of impatience that can only lead to the holocaust of world-wide war. Most of those who urge us to "go it alone" are blind to the

fact that such a course would destroy the solid progress toward world peace which the United Nations has made in the past seven years. I am confident that the American people will reject those voices of despair. We can win peace, but we cannot win it alone. And, above all, we cannot win it by force alone. We can win peace only by continuing to work for international justice and morality through the United Nations.

The White House

June 1952.

EXCLUDED LEGAL

's Secretary's
Files

~~SECRET~~ ~~SECURITY INFORMATION~~

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Ex. 10, 11822, Sec. 5(f) and 5(d) or (e)

D. of Sec. 1011, Nov. 9, 1973

By W.T.H., NARS Date 2-5-76



United Nations

U. S. NAVAL BASE,
KEY WEST, FLORIDA,
NOVEMBER 11, 1948.

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11-22-48

SECRET

FROM: WILLIAM D. HASKETT, SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT.
TO : WHITE HOUSE SIGNAL CENTER, THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

PLEASE TRANSMIT FOLLOWING TO MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT:

x 280
x 114-460

SECRET

U. S. NAVAL BASE,
KEY WEST, FLORIDA,
NOVEMBER 11, 1948.

IT IS ALWAYS GOOD TO HEAR FROM YOU AND I
DEEPLY APPRECIATE YOUR FURTHER LETTER OF NOVEMBER
SEVENTH WHICH HAS GREATLY ENCOURAGED ME. I MARVEL
AT YOUR PATIENCE IN WORKING AGAINST THE DILATORY
TACTICS WHICH YOU MENTION, BUT WANT YOU TO KNOW
I APPRECIATE ALL THE HARD WORK YOU HAVE ACCOMPLISHED
UNDER DIFFICULT CONDITIONS. I HAVE ABIDING FAITH
AND CONFIDENCE IN THE ULTIMATE SUCCESS OF OUR
UNITED EFFORTS. SHALL WELCOME YOUR REPORT WHEN-
EVER YOU FIND IT CONVENIENT TO COME TO WASHINGTON
AFTER YOUR RETURN.



MRS. TRUMAN AND MARGARET ARE WITH ME AND JOIN
IN AFFECTIONATE GREETINGS.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

x85-J
x85-A
x 6. State

5-11-10

Chateaufort, Paris, France, New York

Orillon Hotel
Paris
November 7, 1948

Dear Mr. President:

Many thanks for your very generous cable. If I helped in any way, I am very glad, but I feel you were elected very much on your own. The voters recognized your sincerity and voted accordingly.

Filed
PP7-460.

I have been surprised to have so many of the members of the other delegations congratulate me and express their relief that you were elected.

The work here has gone slowly, with so many speeches on every simple item and meaning of a word; that I have been frustrated. I am hoping to be able to leave here by air around the 8th or 10th of December. I shall telephone you and ask for a convenient time when I can fly down to Washington and make my report, shortly after I get home.



Please remember me warmly to Mrs. Truman and Margaret. Every good wish to you.

Very cordially yours,

Thomas P. Blanton

xPP7200 Election Congrats. R

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MORE

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DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 11652, Sec. 2(E) and 2(D) or (F)
Dep. of State Order, Aug. 9, 1973
By MLT-111, NARS Date 3-5-76

DEPCR V WHW PLEASE PROTECT THE FOLLOWING TRAFFIC AND PASS TO
ADDRESSEE

FROM: THE PRESIDENT

TO : MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
PARIS, FRANCE

NR : WH 493

DTG : 142110Z

BT

U.S. NAVAL BASE,
KEY WEST, FLORIDA,
NOVEMBER 14, 1948.

SECRET
PRIORITY

IT IS ALWAYS GOOD TO HEAR FROM YOU AND I DEEPLY APPRECIATE
YOUR FURTHER LETTER OF NOVEMBER SEVENTH WHICH HAS GREATLY
ENCOURAGED ME. I MARVEL AT YOUR PATIENCE IN WORKING AGAINST THE
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MRS. TRUMAN AND MARGARET ARE WITH ME AND JOIN IN AFFECTIONATE
GREETINGS.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

BT 142110Z

~~SECRET~~

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*Mr. Hopkins
says "Full Com-
fidential" = E.B.*

BLUE NR 24

U. S. S. WILLIAMSBURG

U. S. Naval Gun Factory

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

142001Z

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~~SECRET~~
PRIORITY

U. S. NAVAL BASE,
KEY WEST, FLORIDA,
NOVEMBER 14, 1948.

FROM : WILLIAM D. HASSETT, SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT.

TO : WHITE HOUSE SIGNAL CENTER, THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

PLEASE TRANSMIT FOLLOWING TO MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT:

~~SECRET~~PRIORITY

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KEY WEST, FLORIDA,
NOVEMBER 14, 1948.

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MRS. TRUMAN AND MARGARET ARE WITH ME AND JOIN IN AFFECTIONATE GREETINGS.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Handling and transmission of the literal plain text of this message as correspondence of the same classification is authorized.

DECLASSIFIED
E. O. 11652, Sec. 3(c) and 3(d) in (F)
Dept. of State, Aug. 9, 1973
By RLT-llc, NARS Date 2-5-76

ST-File

Hyde Park
Dutchess County
New York

January 16, 1949

Dear Mr. President:

I am sending this note hoping you will feel perfectly free to consider it as my resignation as delegate to the adjourned session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

It has been an honor and a privilege to serve as a delegate, as well as an educational experience for me. I realize, however, that you may decide that it is wise to appoint some one in my place, and if so I shall understand. I shall, of course, always stand ready to help in any way I can.

With my deep appreciation of my past opportunities, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Thomas Rodwell



B. L. 10

LIBRARY
Harry S. Truman

If signed, pls. MAIL OUT and
RETURN FILE to
W.D.H.
file
W.D.H.

72/23/49

February 21, 1949

85-J

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

This makes belated acknowledgment of your letter of January sixteenth. For your sake I wish I could release you from further service as representative to the adjourned session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

You have earned a respite from your continued and arduous labors with that body. But frankly, I think you have rendered a service to your country in a difficult time which could not have been performed by any other citizen. Nor can I think of anyone who could carry on in your place.

Your country needs you — indeed, this troubled world needs you and the counsel which you can bring to the U.N., out of your rich experience and deep sympathy with the needs of humanity.

x85-A

I have, therefore, no recourse but to send your nomination to the Senate today along with the names of the other Representatives and Alternates previously appointed during the recess of that body.

x85-J Appointment

God speed you in your noble mission.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN



Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Val-Kill Cottage,
Hyde Park, New York.
x280
xPP7460

B. F. E. 2
W.D.H.
P.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

85-Q

Mrs. Bantel
File 5
Sep 5, 19469-4-46
Discussed with
Mr. Williams.
Jah

August 27, 1946

Mr. E. A. Locke, x955
The White House,
Washington, D. C..

Dear Eddy:

I believe you may be interested in the enclosed
advanced copy of Mr. Winant's report on the work of
the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. #Having had charge of its preparation, I should be
much interested in any questions or comments which it
suggests to you.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,



Gordon

Gordon Williams x

GW:meh
Encl. 1

x.20

SE/E/33

SECRET

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL
OF THE
UNITED NATIONS

REPORT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

By

The Honorable John G. Wiant
United States Representative on the Council



July 15, 1946

B-File

(Title Page)

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

REPORT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

By

The Honorable John G. Winant
United States Representative on the Council

July 15, 1946

B File

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Third Session



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Appendix III

Schedule of Meetings - Second Session

Appendix IV

List of Key Documents Relating to
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B Ene

New York
July 15, 1946

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

My dear Mr. Secretary:

In less than a year -- during part of which the world was still at war -- the long-range campaign for economic and social advancement has been opened on a world-wide front. On June 21st, just five days before the first anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter in San Francisco, the Economic and Social Council created by that Charter ended its Second Session. It was the first session of the Council to be held in the United States. It made substantial progress toward completion of the organizational structure through which we can actively and concretely pursue the objectives which only a year ago were hardly more than hopes.

The Economic and Social Council formally came into existence last January, with the initial election of its members by the General Assembly. Its First Session was held concurrently with the meeting of the General Assembly in London. There, preliminary or "nuclear" working commissions were established, and these groups worked on their respective blueprints at meetings which began in New York on April 29th. By the time the Council convened in New York on May 25th, these groups had laid the foundations for the full permanent commissions of the Council. And, during the Council session, lasting from May 25th through June 21st, the main framework for the Council's activities was erected.

The work already done should make it possible for the Council, its commissions and its related agencies, to concert their efforts before the end of this year, toward the attainment of the economic and social objectives of the United Nations Charter.

The worth of an organization can only be tested surely by experience. But we have, I believe, organized well. This has been accomplished despite the diversity of interests inevitably reflected by representatives of eighteen different nations.

The creation of conditions which will permit the achievement of an enduring peace is the keystone of our national foreign policy. It is clear that peace will not endure in a world weakened and split by economic chaos and wracked by social injustice. The strong support of

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the United States for the creation of the Economic and Social Council and our whole-hearted participation in its functions is founded upon that premise and upon that knowledge. Because of this conviction that our national welfare is so inextricably linked with that of our global neighbors I take particular pleasure in transmitting to you this review of what was accomplished at the First and Second Sessions of the Economic and Social Council.

FIRST THINGS FIRST



The most urgent tasks before us are the economic reconstruction of devastated areas and the repatriation or resettlement of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, driven from their homes by oppression and war, who still will be homeless when the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration ends early next year. Another is to deal effectively with the network of trade barriers, governmental and private, which restrict world trade and employment. The world cannot be restored to full economic and social health until substantial progress has been made on these tasks. On all three of them the Council has now taken the first steps. It has voted to recommend to the General Assembly the establishment of an International Refugee Organization to take up the problem of displaced persons where UNRRA will leave off. A draft constitution has been worked out and is being circulated to all Members of the United Nations, so that it may be put into final form ready for signature during the forthcoming meeting of the General Assembly. In the case of the United States, participation in this organization will be subject to acceptance by Congress in the same way as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, and other specialized agencies. Entirely aside from the humanitarian aspects, the presence - in and out of camps - of large numbers of refugees and displaced persons will be a continuing source of political frictions until they can be returned to their homes or resettled.

In the field of economic reconstruction, the Council has established a Temporary Subcommission on the Economic Reconstruction of Devastated Areas which will form two working teams, one for Europe and Africa and the other for Asia and the Far East. These groups will survey the needs of all devastated countries except Germany and Japan. When the Subcommission has done its work, the Economic and Employment Commission, and the Council itself, will then have the necessary facts at their disposal to work out and recommend to the governments a coordinated and practical program for reconstruction.

At its first session, in London, the Council established, on the

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initiative of the United States, a Preparatory Committee for an International Conference on Trade and Employment. The Secretary-General has announced that the first meeting of this Committee, on which the United States will be represented, will be held in London on October 15, 1946.

The Council at its First Session also called an International Health Conference in New York to effect establishment of a special agency to stimulate international cooperation in the field of health. Consequently a constitution has been drafted for a World Health Organization. This agency will not only promote the general improvement of health standards but will be able to tackle the immediate danger of widespread epidemics resulting from the dislocations and hardships of war.

Responding to requests from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the Special Meeting on Urgent Food Problems, the Council has requested the Secretary-General to offer the full assistance and cooperation of the United Nations Secretariat in working on a survey and proposals for international machinery to cope with long-range food problems.

ORGANIZING THE COUNCIL

The Council has made important progress in organizing its work for the main objectives assigned to it by the United Nations Charter. Essentially, the Council constitutes a means of coordination, consultation, and recommendation. Operative functions generally are to be detailed to specialized inter-governmental agencies closely related to the United Nations organization. At the recent sessions, machinery for both the advisory and operative functions was set in motion.

The working teams of the Council will be its permanent commissions and the subcommissions. Reports prepared by the preliminary commissions, and approved by resolutions of the Council after consideration and amendment, provided for the establishment of commissions and subcommissions on a full operating basis.

At London the Economic and Employment Commission was organized to be the Council's chief adviser on international economic action for the achievement and maintenance of full employment with higher standards of living. At the Second Session in New York, the Council further strengthened the functions of this Commission.

The report of the Commission on Human Rights, as it was finally adopted by unanimous vote, included provisions particularly desired by the United States. One of these was a recommendation that human rights

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provisions be written into future treaties, including treaties of peace as far as practicable. A second important recommendation authorized the establishment of a permanent Subcommittee on Freedom of Information and of the Press, as proposed by the United States. At the suggestion of the Soviet Union, the Council also voted to authorize establishment of a Subcommittee on the Protection of Minorities and a Subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination. A third important recommendation in the field of human rights, proposed and strongly supported by the United States Representative and adopted by the Council, was to create a full Commission on the Status of Women to replace the preliminary Subcommittee.

A permanent Social Commission was established to advise the Council on coordination of international work in the social field, and particularly to concern itself with raising standards of living and welfare through social measures such as health services, recreational facilities, furtherance of general cultural relations, housing improvement, welfare of children and aged persons, crime prevention and rehabilitation of offenders.

The Council must have the facts and figures on which to base sound recommendations for international economic and social action. It, therefore, approved proposals of the preliminary Statistical Commission to develop an integrated system for collecting, maintaining, and disseminating reliable world statistics.

The Council decided to establish a permanent Transport and Communications Commission to replace the temporary body set up in London. In addition, the Council took action to endorse a world tele-communications conference. The United States has already taken the first steps toward calling this conference. Machinery was set in motion by the Council to bring the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization and the Universal Postal Union into relationship with the United Nations and to examine the question of establishing an international shipping organization on technical matters. A general pattern has been worked out for cooperation in international transport and communications.

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

Most of the operative functions of the United Nations in economic and social cooperation will be performed by public international agencies working in specialized fields and based on separate intergovernmental agreements. Through a special Committee which negotiated with similar groups appointed by the respective specialized agencies, the Council concluded agreements - as provided in the Charter of the United Nations - to establish relationships with the International Labor Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, and the United



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Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Similar action will be taken with respect to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund at the next session of the Council. Coordination of the vitally important work of these agencies within the framework of the United Nations represents a significant marshalling of existing forces to carry forward in orderly fashion a concerted campaign for human betterment.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

The Economic and Social Council deals with matters that affect individual human beings. Its successes and its failures will have a bearing on the security a man has in his job, and his old age, on the kind of housing and food and clothing and medical care he can provide for his wife and children, on the educational opportunities that will be open to his children, and on the opportunities for advancement that will be open to himself. It is of great importance, therefore, that the Council keep in touch with the people of the world, not only through governments, but through the many non-governmental organizations through which people make their desires known and their opinions felt. After close examination and extended debate, the Council approved a plan by which this direct contact can be carried out on a democratic basis. Special arrangements were made to permit organizations of labor, of management and business, of farmers, and of consumers to join in the work of the Council and its Commissions. Provision also was made for seeking the advice and securing the help of other non-governmental organizations.

CONCLUSIONS

It is natural that the discussions of a deliberative body like the Economic and Social Council should bring out disagreements, and it had its share of them during the recent Sessions. But it is only by airing these differences of opinion that they can be compromised and settled. A disagreement developed over the membership of the commissions of the Council but perhaps the most difficult of the disagreements concerned the problems of refugees and displaced persons. Nevertheless, the Council was able to go ahead toward the establishment of a new refugee organization because the areas of agreement were much larger than the areas of disagreement.

A compromise generally was worked out through patient and persistent negotiation. It has been the amount of agreement, rather than the points of disagreement, which is significant for the future of the Council's work. The experience of working together and finding solutions for specific problems constitutes the first step toward achieving the

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economic and social goals of the United Nations.

In closing the Second Session, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar of India as President of the Economic and Social Council declared:

"Throughout this work a common pattern has evolved. A common purpose has been visible: - the Members of this Council are determined to do their best to see that the aims and objectives of the Charter are kept steadily in view and that progress is made in the direction of those aims and objectives. We may occasionally get what I venture to call a 'pisgah' sight of that land which will be free, which will be happy, which will be contented and where discrimination in any form will be a thing of the past. That is yet to come. But I do think that in all these deliberations, and in the spirit which has characterized them, the sight of that land far, far off is yet visible."

Through patience and understanding, and by a willingness to negotiate, compromise, and work together, I believe the Council in these early sessions has brought that far land a little nearer.

The example of international cooperation recorded in this report was a joint product of eighteen national delegations to the Council, the United Nations Secretariat, and public and private organizations which participated. The contribution made by the United States to this work reflects the fine support and cooperation which our Delegation, both in London and New York, received from the Department of State and from other United States Government Departments and agencies which sent advisers. There were representatives of the Departments of the Treasury, Agriculture, Labor, Justice, and Commerce, as well as the Tariff Commission, Federal Security Agency, and the Bureau of the Budget.

I wish to express here my appreciation of their efficient and whole-hearted assistance.

Sincerely,



John Gilbert Winant

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I

BACKGROUND: FIRST SESSION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

The first meeting of the Economic and Social Council was held in London on January 23, 1946, shortly after the General Assembly had elected the eighteen Members of the Council in accordance with the applicable provisions of the United Nations Charter. Members elected for a three-year term were Belgium, Canada, Chile, China, France and Peru; for a two-year term, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, India, Norway, U.S.S.R., and the United Kingdom; and for a one-year term, Colombia, Greece, Lebanon, Ukrainian S.S.R., United States of America and Yugoslavia. The Council elected Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar of India President of the Council; Dr. Andrija Stampar of Yugoslavia First Vice-President; and Dr. Carlos Lleras Restrepo of Colombia Second Vice-President.

This first session of the Council, which lasted from January 23 to February 18, was devoted almost entirely to organizational matters, as was expected.

Commissions of the Council.

To assist the Council in carrying out the tasks assigned to it by the Charter, it established five temporary or nuclear commissions and one full commission. The full commission, consisting of representatives of fifteen Members of the United Nations, was the Commission on Narcotic Drugs. The five temporary or nuclear commissions, each consisting of nine persons appointed in their individual capacities rather than as representatives of governments, were the following:

Commission on Human Rights,
with a Sub-Commission on the Status of Women

Economic and Employment Commission

Statistical Commission

Temporary Social Commission

Temporary Transport and Communications Commission

These nuclear Commissions held meetings in New York in April and May and prepared reports for consideration by the Council at its Second Session which opened on May 25.

Four nationals of the United States participated in the work of the nuclear commissions. The Council appointed:

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt to the Commission on
Human Rights

Mr. Isador

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Mr. Isador Lubin to the Economic and Employment Commission

Mr. Stuart A. Rice to the Statistical Commission

Mr. George P. Baker to the Temporary Transport and Communications Commission

The representative of the United States on the Commission on Narcotic Drugs is Mr. Harry J. Anslinger, United States Commissioner of Narcotics. As required by law, his nomination was submitted to the Senate for confirmation.

Committees of the Council.

The Council established a Committee on Negotiations with Inter-Governmental Agencies, consisting of representatives of twelve of the States represented on the Council, for the purpose of negotiating agreements designed to bring specialized agencies into relationship with the United Nations. Five such agencies were agreed upon as eligible for such agreements in the relatively near future. They were: the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the International Labor Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

The Council also set up a Committee on Arrangements for Consultation with Non-Governmental Organizations, consisting of representatives of twelve of the States represented on the Council, to recommend suitable arrangements for consultation with such non-governmental organizations as the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Cooperative Alliance, and other international non-governmental organizations, and also with the American Federation of Labor and other national and regional non-governmental organizations.

The Representatives of the United States on the council served on both these committees.

Special Committees.



Three special committees, membership on which was not confined to Members of the Council, were established.

A Special Committee on Refugees and Displaced Persons was set up at the request of the General Assembly. This special committee, consisting of representatives of twenty Members of the United Nations, including the United States of America, met in London early in April to begin work on the urgent problem of refugees and displaced persons. The United States representative was Mr. George L. Warren.

A Technical

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A Technical Preparatory Committee for an International Health Conference, consisting of sixteen experts in public health of sixteen Members of the United Nations, was established. This committee met in Paris from March 18 to April 6. The American expert was Dr. Thomas Parran, Surgeon-General of the United States.

On the initiative of the United States, the Council likewise set up a Preparatory Committee for an International Conference on Trade and Employment, consisting of representatives of eighteen Members of the United Nations. This committee, scheduled to meet in London on October 15, was charged with the task of elaborating an annotated draft agenda, including a draft convention, for consideration by such a conference. At that time the United States representative will lay before the committee for its consideration the Proposals for Expansion of World Trade and Employment put forward by the Government of the United States late last year.

Accomplishments of the First Session of the Council.

The accomplishments of the Council at its First Session in London, although necessarily confined largely to organizational matters, were considerable. Plans were made for constructive action in many fields; and the following chapters of this report indicate in some detail how these plans are being carried out.

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II

WORLD HEALTH PROBLEMS



Among the most urgent problems faced by the Council at its first session was that of world health. Political boundaries have never had significance before the ravages of disease which from time to time have swept their course around the world. Today, the speed and frequency of transportation have reduced the effectiveness of natural barriers. In a world where people have been weakened by war, famine and homelessness, the United Nations recognized as one of its prime responsibilities, the prevention of world epidemics or pestilence.

With this end in view, on February 15, the Economic and Social Council established a Technical Preparatory Committee to prepare a draft agenda and proposals for the consideration of an International Health Conference, to be called not later than June 19, 1946.

The Technical Preparatory Committee

The Technical Preparatory Committee met in Paris from March 18 to April 5, and its report to the Council was the first item of business taken up by the Council at its session beginning May 27. Reflecting the initiative which China had taken on health matters at the United Nations Conference on International Organization held at San Francisco, that government's representative spoke first in comment on the report.

The United States representative expressed his appreciation and that of the United States Government for the work of the experts who had served on the Technical Preparatory Committee. In indicating general agreement with the report and its recommendations, he proposed that matters of detail should not be discussed by the Economic and Social Council. These could more properly be considered at the International Health Conference, which would be attended by persons with an intimate knowledge of health matters and representatives of all interested governments. Other members of the Council likewise expressed general approval of the Committee's report, while directing attention to various specific matters on which they offered suggestions. The principal points raised related to the method by which the proposed World Health Organization should be brought into existence, the character of its action with reference to conventions and regulations, and the question of according to it certain responsibilities for health insurance.

Following the general discussion, the President of the Council appointed a Drafting Committee composed of Belgium, Chile, China, Czechoslovakia, the United Kingdom, Peru, USSR, the United States, and Yugoslavia to prepare a resolution for adoption by the Council.

Drafting

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Drafting Committee Discussions

Representation at Proposed Conference

The first question considered by the Drafting Committee was that of invitations to be issued to the Conference. The Preparatory Committee had recommended that states not members of the United Nations, Allied Control Commissions in Occupied countries and certain international organizations should be invited to attend as observers. The United States strongly supported the recommendation of the Preparatory Committee but suggested that, in the case of Austria and Italy, the governments should be invited rather than the Allied Control Commissions. The United States also proposed the inclusion of the military government of Korea. There was some opposition to the inclusion of ex-enemy states, but it was finally decided that, with the exception of Germany and Japan (which would be represented by the Allied Control Commissions), other ex-enemy nations should be invited. Finland had been omitted from the list and the United States suggested that it be included.

At the second meeting of the Drafting Committee, the representative of the Soviet Union suggested that the World Federation of Trade Unions be invited to send an observer. The United States opposed this suggestion on the grounds that the question of relationship with non-governmental organizations was being considered by the Council and that it would therefore be inappropriate to issue such an invitation, especially as the organization had no direct interest in the technical problems of the conference. It was decided, however, by a vote of 5 to 1 that the World Federation of Trade Unions should be invited.

Consequently, in addition to representatives of United Nations governments, the following governments and international organizations were invited to the conference:

- (a) The Governments of: Afghanistan, Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Eire, Finland, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Portugal, Rumania, Siam, Sweden, Switzerland, Trans-Jordan and Yemen;
- (b) Allied Control Authorities in Germany, Japan and Korea;
- (c) the following International Organizations interested in public health:
 - International Labour Organization
 - United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization
 - United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
 - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
 - Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization
 - Office International d'Hygiene Publique
 - Pan American Sanitary Bureau
 - League of Red Cross Societies

Rockefeller Foundation
World Federation of Trade Unions



Establishment of Proposed World Health Organization

The Drafting Committee continued the discussion, commenced in the Council, of the problem of regulations and conventions and the method of establishing the World Health Organization. The United States representative continued to take the position that any views of the Council on these matters should be submitted to the Health Conference as observations rather than as recommendations. Although there was some sentiment in favor of having the Health Organization established by a resolution of the General Assembly, that point of view did not receive general support. The United States representative opposed it.

Regional Organizations

A debate on two suggested alternatives for the arrangements to be made by the Health Organization with regional organizations began in the first meeting of the Drafting Committee and continued in the second. The representative of the United States stated that his government approved, with certain modifications, the coordination of existing health organizations with the proposed World Health Organization, but added that any decision on this matter should be left to the Conference itself. After extended discussion, two resolutions were presented for a vote. The first provided: "The Council resolves that the International Health Conference consider and decide, in establishing a single world health organization, the manner in which its work, in conjunction with other health agencies, should be carried out. The Council further agrees to transmit to the Conference the observations made on the subject by Members of the Council." There was a vote of five for and five against this proposal, with the United States voting in favor of it. The second resolution provided for approval by the Council of an alternative which would eliminate the independence of status of the regional organizations. This last resolution was adopted by a vote of five to four, with the United States voting against it.

Council Action

The Council took up the report of the Drafting Committee at its twelfth meeting, on June 11, 1946. The representative of Canada spoke on the necessity of establishing a strong Interim Commission; the United Kingdom repeated its views on the method of establishing the organization and called attention to the fact that the recommendation of the Technical Preparatory Committee to the effect that the health functions of the League of Nations should be carried on by the Interim Commission had not been incorporated in the report of the Drafting Committee. There was further discussion of this latter point, following which the President announced as the sentiment of the Council that these functions should be carried on by the Department of Social Affairs of the Secretariat of

the United

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the United Nations, which should act as Secretariat of the Interim Commission. The resolution of the Drafting Committee was then adopted, and the President stated that the recommendations made in the general discussion would also be communicated to the International Health Conference.

This resolution as adopted by the Council endorsed the extension of invitations to the Governments, authorities and international organizations listed above and approved the recommendation of the Technical Preparatory Committee that, in the event of the Health Organization not being established upon the conclusion of the June Conference, an Interim Commission should be established. The resolution also recommended that, until such time as the Health Organization came into existence, the Department of Social Affairs of the United Nations should act as the secretariat of this Commission and should carry on the present activities of the League of Nations health organization. The resolution also approved the recommendation of the Technical Preparatory Committee regarding the absorption of the Office International d'Hygiene publique and the assumption in due course by the Organization, or the Interim Commission, of the functions and duties assigned to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration by the International Sanitary Convention of 1944. Lastly, the resolution transmitted to the International Health Conference a list of recommendations, suggestions and observations made by Members of the Council during its session.

Reflecting the pressing urgency of the world health situation, the International Health Conference was convened in New York on June 19, 1946.

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REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS



As the members of the Economic and Social Council met in London for the first time, the tragedy of two million homeless and wandering persons on the continent of Europe claimed their immediate attention. Uprooted families, children without parents or homeland, weak and sick humans left by the receding tide of war, they all called for urgent efforts to alleviate their sufferings and to find them homes.

Immediate solutions were not possible; well thoughtout organization and procedures had first to be developed in order to avoid inequities and injustice. And such a sound structure took time to build.

In spite of almost insurmountable difficulties, the United Nations have made good progress toward the creation of an International Refugee Organization to assume the responsibility for the care of refugees and displaced persons now carried by the occupying military authorities and by UNRRA. Work was steadily pressed forward with the utmost urgency in the General Assembly of the United Nations which met in London in January and February, 1946, in the Special Committee on Refugees and Displaced Persons, established by the Economic and Social Council pursuant to the resolution of the General Assembly, which met one month later, also in London, and in the Second Session of the Economic and Social Council.

Only the financial arrangements of the proposed new organization remain to be worked out by a Committee on Finances established by the Economic and Social Council in June. The report of this Committee, meeting in London, will complete the proposals for an International Refugee Organization which will be submitted to the General Assembly at its next session in a form suitable for signature and acceptance by governments.

The Special Committee

Acting on the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on February 12, 1946, the Economic and Social Council adopted at its First Session, on February 16, a resolution establishing a Special Committee on Refugees and Displaced Persons, with instructions to carry out a thorough examination of the problems of refugees and displaced persons of all categories and to make a report to the Council at its Second Session. This Committee met in London on April 8 for eight weeks.

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Definition of Refugees

With respect to the definitions of refugees and displaced persons who are to become the concern of the International Refugee Organization, there was evident throughout the proceedings of the Committee in London substantial difference of opinion between the majority, which favored broad and inclusive definitions, and the minority, consisting largely of the countries of origin of displaced persons, which favored restrictive definitions. The minority group of the Committee also endeavored to have the Special Committee in London send subcommissions of inquiry to the field to report on progress in the apprehension and delivery of war criminals, quislings and traitors. The position of the majority of the Special Committee was that, under the terms of the resolution passed by the General Assembly in February 1946, no action was to be taken which would interfere in any way with the work of other authorities in the apprehension and punishment of such persons, and that consequently such inquiries were outside the Committee's terms of reference.

Repatriation and Resettlement

The countries of origin laid particular stress upon the importance of repatriation. The majority, while recognizing the desirability of facilitating repatriation of those willing to return, emphasized the necessity of equipping the proposed organization to deal with the problem of resettling hundreds of thousands of refugees, displaced persons and "non-repatriables".

Other Problems

Other differences which it proved impossible to resolve at the London meeting centered on methods of providing information concerning conditions in the countries of origin to displaced persons, apparently unwilling to return home, the eligibility for care of displaced persons who had left their countries of origin after the cessation of hostilities, and proposals by the minority members of the Committee that those repatriated be assisted after return to their home countries.

Constitution of Proposed International Refugee Organization and its Relationship with United Nations

With respect to the draft suggestions for a constitution, differences of opinion as to the relationship of the proposed body to the United Nations were fully explored. The United States representative took the lead in insisting that the new body should be a

specialized agency. He argued that the difference in interest in the problem which existed among Members of the United Nations, as well as the great interest in the problem exhibited by certain states not Members of the United Nations and the probable magnitude of the budget of the proposed Organization made it desirable for this problem to be handled by an agency established for the particular purpose, rather than by the United Nations itself. But the specialized agency thus contemplated should, of course, be related to the United Nations in accordance with Articles 57 and 63 of the Charter and so derive from its association with the central body the advantages of review and comment which annual debate in the General Assembly or more frequent discussion in the Economic and Social Council might direct toward its activities.

Other governments—among which the United Kingdom was included—took the position that some effective control of the proposed agency should be lodged in the United Nations. Failing in their initial objective to have the functions contemplated for the new body actually brought within the framework of the United Nations proper, they endeavored to introduce a variety of constitutional provisions by which the specialized agency would be more closely governed by the United Nations than would be possible under the probable terms of a relationship agreement. In particular, they sought to have accepted the stipulation that the administrative budget of the new Organization be approved by the Economic and Social Council, rather than simply reviewed and commented upon by the General Assembly.

Issues of internal organization also arose, centering primarily on the relationship between the Executive Committee and the Director-General of the proposed agency. Draft suggestions by the countries of origin specifically provided, for example, that the Executive Committee should issue directives on policy to the Director-General and should exercise control over his activities, that the Executive Committee should be so organized as to be able to function continuously, and that it should, in order to investigate the situation in the field, establish commissions, including representatives of the countries of origin concerned, to visit refugee centers and should give instructions to the Director-General based on such investigations. To all these provisions, the United States representative was opposed.

The draft suggestions for a constitution were admittedly incomplete. The financial provisions, which in this field represented a particularly important aspect of the question, were sketched only in broad terms and no consideration had been given to figures because of lack of time. Certain legal and technical clauses, necessary to any constitution, were also omitted from the draft for later completion.

Council Action

Committee Consideration

Indicative of the urgency with which Governments regarded the problem was the fact that one step had succeeded another since January with only a few days intervening between each step. The Report of the Special Committee was issued in London on June 1; it was presented to the Council for its consideration in New York on June 13. After one meeting of the Council, which was given over to general observations, the Council resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole for the Consideration of the Report.

Discussion in the Committee recapitulated many of the issues which had divided the countries of origin from the majority in London. Proposals which had been made in London were now advanced again and carefully reconsidered. The presence in the Council of representatives of five countries (Chile, Cuba, Greece, India, Norway) that had not been members of the Special Committee in London provided grounds for not projecting the results of the earlier discussion into Plenary Council Session without full discussion.

The countries of origin pressed again, for example, their proposal to delete a paragraph which, in the view of the United States, constitutes one of the most important provisions of the Report, giving the International Refugee Organization authority to care for political dissidents resident outside their countries of origin during World War II who are unwilling to return thereto because they cannot accept the regimes in power in these countries. The countries of origin also brought up once more their proposed amendment, relating to the furnishing to refugees and displaced persons information concerning the situation in their home countries. These amendments, however, together with others similarly intended to restrict the authority of the new Organization, failed of adoption by the Committee of the Whole and by the Council.

Constitution of Proposed Organization: Executive Responsibilities



To the suggestions for a draft constitution of the proposed International Refugee Organization, the United States Delegation to the Economic and Social Council devoted much study and discussion. The Delegation believed that three aspects of the draft suggestions required serious consideration by the Council. First, a number of clauses seemed unnecessarily to confuse the responsibilities of the Organization's General Council, Executive Committee and Director-General. Second, the financial article, of great importance to the

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United States, did not seem to represent a clear statement of obligations under proper safeguards. Third, in order to be complete as a constitution, the draft suggestions required the addition of articles on such matters as the legal status of the Organization, the international character of its secretariat, its relations with other organizations, and entry into force. The United States Delegation, therefore, circulated on June 15, in order that ample opportunity might be given for its examination by other Delegations, a paper of proposals designed to meet these various points.

In connection with the relationships between the Executive Committee and the Director-General, the United States Delegation particularly sought to obtain the deletion of three paragraphs to which the United States representative in London had been strongly opposed. The United States Delegation was successful in enlisting the support of a majority of the Council for the deletion of two paragraphs, dealing respectively with the power of the Executive Committee to issue directives on policy to the Director-General and with the establishment of commissions of investigation. The United States Delegation was unsuccessful, however, in obtaining the deletion of a paragraph which provides that the Executive Committee should be so organized as to function continuously during the first year if the Committee should consider this to be necessary.

Finance

In connection with the financial provisions, the United States Delegation offered a complete redraft of the text set out in the draft suggestions. The redraft was felt desirable by the United States in order to accomplish the following chief purposes: (1) to make clear the obligation of members to pay the share of the administrative expenses allocated to them by the General Council; (2) to make clear that the share of operational and large-scale settlement expenditures allocated to each member would be contributed subject to the requirements of the constitutional procedure of each member; and (3) to establish the possibility that the relationship agreement between the IRO and the United Nations would provide for the approval of the administrative budget of the IRO by the General Assembly. After some discussion, this article was generally approved.

Membership

As for the new articles, the proposals offered by the United States were based on standard models in other constitutions. The proposed new article on entry into force was tied in with the United States amendment on membership and was designed to reflect the view of all Delegations that procedures should be established to permit

the swiftest possible creation of the Organization. It provided, therefore, that the constitution should come into force when it had been signed without reservation as to subsequent legislative acceptance or when instruments of acceptance had been deposited, on behalf of the Governments of fifteen signatory States. Related to this provision was that of the covering resolution put forward by the United States, according to which the constitution should be considered by the General Assembly at the second part of its First Session in September and, as adopted by the Assembly, be opened immediately thereafter for signature either with or without reservation as to subsequent legislative acceptance.

For lack of time, however, the new articles were not considered by the Council. The covering resolution provided, nevertheless, that such technical clauses as were necessary to complete the constitution from a legal point of view should be drafted by the Secretary-General and be transmitted by him, as part of the Draft Constitution, to the Members of the United Nations.

Committee on Finances

In line with the resolution on financial questions adopted by the Special Committee in London, the covering resolution as adopted by the Council, established a Committee on the Finances of the International Refugee Organization, which was directed to meet in London as soon as possible after the close of the second session of the Council. This Committee was given the function of preparing provisional administrative and operational budgets for the first financial year of the Organization and scales according to which quota contributions to these budgets might be allocated equitably among the Members of the United Nations. The Committee was to submit its report to the President of the Council and to the Secretary-General not later than July 20, 1946.

Conclusion

The achievement of the Council by the end of its Second Session was such as to establish the main lines of a constitution for the proposed International Refugee Organization; to lay down an orderly procedure by which the comments of all the Members of the United Nations could be brought to bear upon the draft instrument; to initiate active consideration of the important financial aspects of the problem; and to pave the way for expeditious action by the General Assembly at its next session. The succession of quick steps which had pressed one upon the other through the spring and which are still to be taken through the summer rendered impossible the perfection of

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detail... But the magnitude of the problem and the disastrous effect on human beings of any delay in its solution were over-riding considerations which drove the negotiations steadily forward to an acceptable result.

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IV

THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

No more important functions are assigned in the United Nations Charter to the Economic and Social Council than its duties of coordinating the activities and policies of those public international agencies "having wide international responsibilities in the economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related fields"—known as the specialized agencies. Since these bodies—in many cases having executive authority—operate within the broad philosophy of the United Nations, the Economic and Social Council must be in a position to work in the closest association with them. To make such association effective, the Council was authorized to enter into agreements with these agencies, defining the terms under which they are to be brought into relationship with the United Nations (Articles 57 and 63). A major achievement of the Second Session of the Council was the arriving at such agreements with three of the important specialized agencies: the International Labor Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Background--The Negotiating Committee

The Economic and Social Council, at its First Session, set up procedures for establishing such relationships, which included the appointment of a Negotiating Committee of the Economic and Social Council, consisting of representatives of Belgium, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, France, Norway, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R. and the United States, with the President of the Economic and Social Council serving as Chairman of the Committee. An invitation was extended to five agencies--the International Labor Organization, Food and Agriculture Organization, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the International Monetary Fund--to appoint committees for the purpose of negotiating an agreement. The International Bank and International Fund were not prepared to enter into negotiations at this time in view of the early stage of their own organizational work. However, discussions between the Committee of the Council and committees of the other agencies took place: with the International Labor Organization on May 28 and 29, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization on June 3, and the Food and Agriculture Organization on June 6 and 8.

The Agreements with FAO, ILO and UNESCO

General



The resulting agreements all follow a similar pattern. The provisions of these agreements fall into three groups: (1) Those

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establishing the fundamental relationship between the United Nations and the agencies, which include the articles recognizing the competence of the agencies in their particular fields; reciprocal representation; membership; proposal of agenda items; recommendations of the General Assembly and the Council; exchange of information and documents; relationship to Security Council, Trusteeship Council, International Court of Justice; budgetary and financial arrangements; and inter-agency agreements; (2) Those providing for administrative and technical cooperation, which include the articles on statistical services; headquarters and regional offices; personnel arrangements; administrative and technical services; financing of special services; liaison; and (3) Those establishing the status of the agreement itself, which include articles on implementation of the agreement; revision; and entry into force.

Relationship Articles



The first group of articles, establishing the fundamental relationship between the United Nations and the agencies, is clearly the most important. The United Nations recognizes the competence of each agency in its field. Representatives of the United Nations are to be invited to attend and to participate without vote the meetings of the agency. Reciprocally, representatives of the agencies are to be invited to attend, and participate without vote, in meetings of the Economic and Social Council and its Commissions and Committees, the General Assembly and its main committees, and the Trusteeship Council. These provisions as included in the agreements, however, do not provide for full reciprocity. All the activities of the United Nations would not be of concern or interest to any one of the specialized agencies. It seemed necessary, therefore, to limit participation by representatives of the agencies to items on the agenda in which they have an interest. Written statements and recommendations may be transmitted by an agency, through the United Nations Secretariat, to all Members of the Assembly, the Council and its Commissions and the Trusteeship Council as appropriate. A provision for exchange of agenda items makes it possible for each body to bring before the other those items which it considers important for consideration.

The article providing for the consideration of recommendations of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council by the agencies constitutes one of the most important features of the agreements. While there is some variation in the different agreements, each agency agrees to submit promptly to its appropriate organ all formal recommendations made by the United Nations, to consult with the United Nations with respect to such recommendations, to report in due course to the United Nations upon action taken by the agency or by its members to give effect to such recommendations, and to

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cooperate with any future coordinating body of the United Nations. As one important means of cooperation, the United Nations and the agencies agree to exchange information regularly, including in particular, regular reports from the agencies, and any special information which may be requested. These agreements do not give the United Nations the right to control the policies of these agencies.

With regard to relations between the agencies and the other organs of the United Nations, each agency agrees to "cooperate with the Economic and Social Council in furnishing such information and rendering such assistance to the Security Council as that Council may request, including assistance in carrying out decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance or restoration of international peace and security". The representative of the U.S.S.R. on the Council's Negotiating Committee insisted that the specialized agencies should have no direct contact with other organs of the United Nations, but only through the Economic and Social Council. This view was not sustained by a majority of the Committee, which held that the Charter authorized the Trusteeship Council to appeal to any of the specialized agencies directly for assistance, and that in consequence, the Security Council should be in a position to do likewise. In all cases, it was understood that the specialized agencies would act on such requests in cooperation with the Economic and Social Council.

Acceptance of these agreements by the General Assembly will authorize the International Labor Organization and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to ask the International Court for advisory opinions on certain legal questions, except on mutual relationships of the agency and the United Nations or other specialized agencies. Provisions were added to the agreement with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization requiring prior approval by the Council of requests for advisory opinions. This restriction was not acceptable to the Food and Agriculture Organization Negotiating Committee and the article has been held open for later consideration.

An important article on budgetary and financial relationships was agreed upon. None of the agencies was yet prepared to accept a common budget with the United Nations. However, all the agreements provide for future consultation regarding the desirability of closer budgetary relationships which may eventually result in an integration of the budgets of all the specialized agencies in the general budget of the United Nations. For the time being, it was agreed that the agencies would consult with the United Nations in the preparation of their annual budgets. There are also provisions

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for examination of agency budgets by the General Assembly, representation for the agencies in Assembly meetings during discussions of financial or administrative questions affecting the agency and for other kinds of administrative cooperation. It was agreed that, for the time being, the only action the Assembly could take with respect to budgets of specialized agencies would be in the form of recommendations.

In the agreement with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization there are two articles which do not appear in the other agreement. As the UNESCO Constitution provides that new members shall be admitted in accordance with the terms worked out in the agreement between the United Nations and the UNESCO, the negotiators felt it necessary to insert an article in the agreement establishing a procedure whereby membership applications will be considered by the Economic and Social Council. The United States would have preferred rather to have had such applications considered by the General Assembly or to have omitted any reference to the subject in the agreement.

A special article on public information was also inserted in the UNESCO agreement because of the special responsibility which UNESCO has "to collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples through all means of mass communication". This article provides for a subsidiary agreement with a view to coordinating the activities of the agency in this field with those of the information services of the United Nations.

Administrative Cooperation

The second group of articles in the agreements provide essentially for channels by which administrative and technical services may be developed to the mutual advantage of the United Nations and the agencies, with a view to avoiding overlapping wherever possible. Most important of these articles is the one appearing in almost identical form in each of the agreements concerning statistical services. It obligates both organizations to seek the greatest possible coordination in the collection, analysis, and publication of statistics, establishes the basic field in which each shall be recognized, and provides for cooperation in development of programs, methods and exchange of data.

The agreements differ in their provisions concerning the establishment of headquarters and regional offices by the agencies, because of the different history of each agency in this respect. Recognizing the advantages of proximity of headquarters, the International Labor Organization agreed to consult with the United Nations

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before making any decision concerning the location of its permanent headquarters. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, having already decided to establish its permanent headquarters in Paris, agreed to the joint establishment with the United Nations of possible regional offices. The Food and Agriculture Organization, having voted at its first Session to make its headquarters at the permanent site of the United Nations, has included in its agreement a somewhat detailed provision that this decision will be subject to the suitability of the United Nations site for the work of the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the availability of adequate assistance from the United Nations. As far as possible, cooperation at regional centers and close liaison are envisioned.

Implementation

The third group of articles are those which describe the status of the agreement itself. Among the most important of these is the article by which the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Director (or Director-General) of the agency agree to enter into such supplementary agreements as may be necessary "in the light of the operating experience of the two organizations". By this article the negotiators affirmed their determination that the agreement should allow for a living, growing relationship involving constant contact and mutual assistance in meeting problems as they arise. To achieve the flexibility necessary to meet unknown developments, the agreements were made subject to revision by agreement between the bodies concerned. In the case of UNESCO, which is not yet fully established, such a revision is to be effective within 3 years. It should be noted that the agreements enter into force only on approval both by the General Assembly of the United Nations and by the Conference of the agency concerned.

Conclusion

In most respects, the agreements conform closely to the views formulated by the United States in advance of the negotiations, although in some cases the drafting has become more precise, in others more vague. The United States favored some changes in text which would have made more precise the responsibility of the Economic and Social Council to interpret situations which might involve an overlap of agency functions with those of the Council; it supported the texts adopted giving the agencies direct contact with the other organs of the United Nations; it abstained from voting on the inclusion of the article on membership in the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization agreement, but introduced the article on

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public information. It would have preferred the adoption in all agreements of the more restrictive article on the Court as a protection for the time of its members, but was not prepared to press the view that one agency should accept this article if it felt unwilling to do so in view of the fact that agreement had been reached with another agency on a less restrictive article.

In general, the agreements appear to provide a good basis for working out specialized and technical programs within the broad framework of economic and social cooperation. They attempt to maintain a balance between coordination and autonomy. But the real success of these agreements will be determined over the years by the people in the United Nations and in the agencies themselves who carry on the daily work of these organizations in relation to each other, as well as by the degree of coordination each of the governments can achieve between their representatives on different international bodies.

Looking to the future, the pattern of cooperative relationships here established will be enlarged. As soon as their own organizational problems permit, negotiations will be entered into with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund—it is hoped by this fall. The Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization, the International Telecommunications Union and the Universal Postal Union will also be invited to enter into negotiations at an early date.

It is to be anticipated that by way of these agreements, an integrated pattern of economic and social endeavor will be evolved which, while achieving coordination and unity of purpose, will allow a desirable measure of flexibility and decentralization of responsibilities.

The Non-Governmental Organizations

The problem of establishing effective consultative arrangements with non-governmental organizations is of great importance to the future of the Economic and Social Council and its work. The Council has no legislative functions, but can act only by recommendation and advice. The validity of such advice and recommendations will depend on the extent to which the Council has a full grasp of the issues it will be called upon to consider. The effectiveness of its recommendations will depend upon the public support given such recommendations. It is therefore essential that the Council maintain the closest possible contact with the life of the people's whom it is to serve, in order that it may be responsive to their needs and aspirations.

These considerations prompted the inclusion of Article 71 in the Charter of the United Nations which provides that the Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations, national and international, which are concerned with matters within its competence. On February 20, 1946, the Council, acting upon a recommendation of the General Assembly, appointed a Committee on Arrangements for Consultation with Non-Governmental Organizations, which was given the mandate to submit detailed proposals regarding such arrangements to the Second Session of the Council and specifically, to define the consultative relationships to be established between the Council and the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Cooperative Alliance, and the American Federation of Labor.

Report of the Committee on Consultation



The Committee, composed of the President of the Council and the members of the Council for China, Cuba, France, Greece, Lebanon, Peru, Ukrainian S.S.R., Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia met May 20 to 22 in New York. It produced a report which obtained the support of most of the members of the Committee, with only France and the USSR objecting that the report did not assign a sufficiently important place to the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The report provided that consultative arrangements should be made with organizations "of recognized standing" which represent "a substantial proportion of the organized persons within the particular interest field in which they operate". It was made clear that such arrangements should primarily be made with international organizations, while national organizations should normally present their views through their respective governments or through international non-governmental organizations to which they belong. National organizations might, however, be brought into direct consultative relationship if they covered a field not covered by any international organization or had special experience upon which the Council wished to draw. In the Committee's report it was furthermore agreed that the Council, for screening purposes, should set up a permanent "Committee on Arrangements for Consultation with Non-Governmental Organizations", known as the Council

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NGO Committee and composed of the President of the Council and four members of the Council assisted by the Assistant Secretaries-General for Economic and Social Affairs, respectively.

With a view to defining the arrangements to be made, the Committee suggested that the arrangements should not be such as to accord to non-governmental organizations the same right of participation, without a vote, in the deliberations of the Council which, under certain conditions, are accorded to States not members of the Council, under Article 69, and to the specialized agencies brought into relationship with the United Nations. It was also recognized, as a basic principle, that the arrangements should not be such as to overburden the Council or transform it into a general forum for discussion instead of a body for coordination of policy and action.

The Committee recommended that, in drawing up its recognized list of organizations, the Council should as far as possible define the field of interest of each, and should distinguish between the following categories:

- (a) Organizations which have a basic interest in most of the activities of the Council, and are closely linked with the economic or social life of the areas which they represent. In the view of the United States Representative, who proposed these categories, this first category would include organizations of labor, business and management, farmers, and consumers.
- (b) Organizations which have a special competence but are concerned specifically with only a few of the fields of activity covered by the Council.
- (c) Organizations which are primarily concerned with the development of public opinion and with the dissemination of information.

Consultative arrangements were to vary according to these categories. Representatives of all the organizations were to be entitled to sit as observers at the meetings of the Council and to submit, in writing, communications on substantive matters which, on request of a member of the Council, were to be distributed to all members of the Council. The essence of the consultative arrangements envisaged was set forth in Paragraph 3 of Section IV of the Report, which reads as follows:

"To insure effective consultation on matters in which organizations have special competence or knowledge, it is recommended that those included in category (a) may be invited by the Council to consult with a committee appointed for that purpose, if the Council so desires or the organization specifically requests such consultation. Their representatives should be able to participate fully in any hearings of this kind so that the Committee may report to the Council on the basis of a full exchange of views. Similar arrangements may be made for organizations in category (b) for consultation with a committee on matters within the particular fields of activity with which they are concerned. Organizations in category (c) may be invited by the Council for consultation with a committee."

It was furthermore provided that in general, arrangements for consultation with the Commissions of the Council should be similar to those suggested for consultation with the Council itself. Consultation should normally be with

a committee of the Commission appointed for the purpose. Organizations in category (b) with comparatively limited fields of interest would normally be linked for consultation purposes with the particular Commission or Commissions concerned with their fields of interest.

Finally, the Committee recommended that the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Cooperative Alliance, and the American Federation of Labor should all be accorded the privileges extended to organizations in category (a).

Discussion by the Council

When the report of the Committee was submitted to the Economic and Social Council on June 7 it met with opposition. The representative of France opposed the report on the ground that it had not assigned the World Federation of Trade Unions a place commensurate with its importance. This point of view was supported by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukraine, and several of the countries of Eastern Europe. Reference was made to a letter from Mr. Sidney Hillman, of June 4, 1946, who on behalf of the World Federation of Trade Unions, requested the right of an authorized representative of the Federation to attend all sessions, whether public or executive, of the Council, its commissions and committees and to present the view of the Federation, in both oral and written form, before the full membership of the Council or its appropriate commission or committee, on any matter under discussion by them.

The representative of the United Kingdom took issue with this view, not out of any opposition to the World Federation of Trade Unions, but on the ground that no non-governmental organization should be accorded a place on the Council stronger than that of one of the United Nations not a member of the Council. The United States Representative concurred in this view, but at the same time offered a number of suggestions designed to establish a closer relationship with the organizations in category (a) and by implication, with the WFTU, than was provided in the report. After three hours of discussion in the Council the report was referred back to the Committee for amendment.

Reconsideration by the Committee



Two meetings of the Committee proved necessary to arrive at a second draft of its report. The Soviet representative submitted amendments designed to favor the WFTU as the one organization which was to enjoy special privileges amounting to full participation in the work of the Council, short of the right to vote. However, the Committee eventually favored the American and French proposals which, while going less far, enhanced the position of the organizations in category (a).

In brief, the Committee adopted the following major amendments to its original report:

1. The original draft provided that the aims and purposes of the organizations to be brought into relationship "should be in conformity with the spirit, purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations". Following a Soviet proposal, the further

stipulation

stipulation was accepted that "organizations proved to be discredited by past collaboration in fascist activities shall not, for the present, be admitted."

2. Also in line with a Soviet proposal, the Committee considered that "most close consultative connection should be established with the World Federation of Trade Unions which has already applied to the Economic and Social Council with a request to establish connections." The United States and the United Kingdom representatives in the Council accepted this statement on the understanding that it simply means that the WFTU would be granted the maximum rights provided for organizations in category (a).
3. A United States amendment was accepted according to which written communications from organizations in category (a) will automatically be transmitted by the Secretariat to all members of the Council.
4. The United States proposed another amendment accepted by the Committee under which organizations in category (a) may, upon invitation of the Council or on their own request appear, not before an ad hoc Committee of the Council as originally suggested, but a Standing Committee, appointed for the purpose, which will make for greater frequency and regularity of consultation. Furthermore, upon recommendation of the Standing Committee, the Council as a whole may receive representatives of organizations in category (a) for the purpose of hearing their views.
5. To insure effective consultation with Commissions on matters in which organizations have special competence or knowledge, a United States proposal was agreed to that consultation with organizations in category (a) should normally be with the full Commissions instead of through committees of the Commissions.
6. A section on "General Arrangements", was strengthened to emphasize the importance of organizing the International Secretariat in such a way "as to render all appropriate assistance to non-governmental organizations and offer to them all appropriate facilities."

Approval by the
Council



In its final meetings on June 21, the Economic and Social Council approved the report of its Committee which nevertheless, gave rise to several hours of additional discussion during which the representatives of the USSR and the Ukraine repeated their previous arguments in favor of special treatment for the World Federation of Trade Unions: that the Federation should not be treated in the same way as the other organizations in category (a) but should be given the right to participate in meetings of the Council without vote. It was also urged by these representatives that the terms labor, business and management, farmers, and consumers, used in describing organizations in category (a), should be stricken from the report. These proposals were lost by votes of 5 to 12 and 6 to 8, respectively. The final vote, approving the report and recognizing the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International

Cooperative Alliance, and the American Federation of Labor as organizations in category (a), was unanimous. The representatives of the Soviet Union and the Ukraine however, reserved the right of raising again the questions of the position of the World Federation of Trade Unions at an appropriate time in the future, possibly the next meeting of the General Assembly.

After the report had been approved, the representative of the United States introduced a resolution designed to bring the International Chamber of Commerce into consultative relationship with the Council as one of the organizations in category (a). He urged that action be taken immediately on the application of the International Chamber of Commerce, which had been transmitted to the Secretary General on January 7, 1946. Because of questions raised by two members of the Council, the United States representative withdrew his resolution on the understanding that the matter would become the first order of business of the Council NGO Committee.

The Council completed action on the report by electing China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States to membership on the Council NGO Committee, a United States amendment, raising the number of members elected to the Committee from the original four to five, having been previously accepted.

Conclusion

Thus ended the discussion of one of the most controversial issues before the Council, the origins of which go back to the early days of the San Francisco Conference, when the problem was first raised. It is one of the major achievements of the Second Session of the Council to have laid solid foundations for close and fruitful cooperation between the Council and a wide range of non-governmental organizations which look to the Economic and Social Council for leadership in the establishment of improved economic and social relations.

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VI
THE REPORTS OF THE COMMISSIONS

Common Problems

Composition



In their reports the various nuclear commissions made differing recommendations as to their definitive compositions. These recommendations were, with one exception, generally acceptable to the United States, which has taken the position from the outset that Commission members should, as a general rule, be individual experts rather than representatives of governments. While only the Statistical Commission made recommendations wholly in line with United States policy, on the other hand, only the Temporary Social Commission made recommendations which were inconsistent with these views - recommending a membership composed largely of the representatives of chosen governments. The nuclear commissions had also recommended that their subcommissions should be composed of individual experts. Should the permanent commissions be made up of government representatives, advice from technical experts having no governmental ties would thus be available in the subcommissions.

In view of the discussions which developed on this question of composition during consideration of all the commission's reports, the Council appointed a special Joint Committee on the Composition of Commissions to study the matter.

The Soviet member of the Joint Committee argued strongly in favor of government representatives on all commissions and subcommissions, suggesting that otherwise the commissions would be mere "discussion clubs" and that governments would be far less likely to put the recommendations of unattached individuals, however expert, into effect. The United Kingdom, Chinese, and French members argued for mixed membership on commissions. The United States member pointed out that considerations of a political nature would be the concern of the Council itself and the General Assembly, whereas the commissions and subcommissions were small bodies which had to consider the interests of the whole world and should be in a position to contribute expert and technical knowledge and experience.

After considerable debate, the Committee decided by an 11 to 5 vote to recommend to the Council that all the members of all the commissions should be the representatives of the governments of Members of the United Nations chosen by the Council. This recommendation was confirmed by the Council. The composition of the subcommissions was left to the decision of the commissions appointing them, with the exception of the Subcommission on the Reconstruction of Devastated Areas, which will be composed of government representatives.

It was later made clear by the President of the Council that a chosen government may, if it so desires, select an expert in his individual capacity, who would not be bound by instructions and whose position might not necessarily be that of his government. However, any representative, once chosen, is not considered subject to rotation or change prior to the expiration of his term. It was further agreed by the Committee, that with a view to securing a balanced representation in the various fields covered by the Commissions, the Secretary-General shall consult with the governments so selected before the representatives are nominated by the governments and confirmed by the Council.

The Committee

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The Committee decided that all members of the Commissions should be appointed on the basis of staggered three-year terms, and should be eligible for re-appointment.

In the case of the Economic and Employment Commission and of the Statistical Commission, the Council approved the appointment, in their individual capacity, of corresponding members who must be nationals of United Nations countries which are not represented on the Commission concerned. Such appointments, would of course, be subject to the approval of the Governments concerned. Finally, the Council determined that the Commissions would have fifteen members, except the Human Rights and Social Commissions, which will have eighteen, and the Statistical Commission, which will have twelve members.

Subcommissions

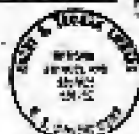
The Council at its Second Session authorized various permanent commissions to create certain specified subcommissions. General terms of reference for these subcommissions were outlined, and the permanent commissions were requested to recommend to the Council any additional subcommissions that might be desirable. One temporary subcommission, that on the Economic Reconstruction of Devastated Areas, was established under the Economic and Employment Commission.

There was much discussion about the terms of reference for the permanent subcommissions of the Economic and Employment Commission. Since it was apparent that, in view of the limitations of time, no agreement could be reached, prior to adjournment, on language clarifying their functions, the Council finally adopted the language on subcommissions, fairly general in wording, written into the resolution adopted at the First Session of the Council. The earlier language was likewise adopted in connection with the composition of subcommissions. This provided that prior approval of the Council would be required before more than three members of the subcommission could be selected from outside the members of the parent commission. Discussion on these provisions can be re-opened at the third session at the request of any member.

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Economic and Employment Commission

Background



The Dumbarton Oaks proposals specifically provided for an economic commission in the projected world organization. The Charter of the United Nations, as it emerged from San Francisco, was less specific -- providing for the general establishment of commissions in the economic and social fields. But it has been clear from the beginning that one of the most important of all the commissions of the Economic and Social Council would be that which would advise and assist the Council in the economic field.

It will be recalled that, especially in the economic field, the various specialized agencies have the responsibility for carrying out particular assignments of the general task of realizing full employment. What we mean by the promotion of "full employment" is much more than a mere quantitative concept of assuring work for the largest number of people. It includes the basic ideas of rising standards of living and economic progress. The Council's function is to bring to bear in a common and purposeful effort, directed toward these ends, all the individual activities of specialized agencies in the economic field, and to provide for additional activities in this field where necessary.

At its First Session in London, the Council established a nuclear Economic and Employment Commission to advise and assist it in its consideration of economic questions of a general character, in giving over-all consideration to economic questions which involve more than one agency or commission, and in dealing with problems which do not fall within the jurisdiction of any specialized agency. This nuclear Commission was further given the function of advising the Council on the world economic situation and economic problems requiring immediate attention from time to time. In particular, the Commission would make recommendations to the Council on:

- (a) problems of economic reconstruction of devastated areas and other urgent economic problems arising from the war, including methods of meeting short-term situations most consistently with the requirements of long-term policy;
- (b) the promotion of world-wide full employment, the coordination of national full employment policies and the prevention of economic instability.

(c) problems

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- (c) problems of economic development including particularly those relating to under-developed areas.

Provision was also made for subcommissions on Employment, on Balances of Payments, and on Economic Development. The nuclear Commission was also directed to include in its report to the Council's Second Session recommendations on the desirability of establishing a subcommission on economic reconstruction of devastated areas.

Report of the Nuclear Commission

This nuclear Commission met in New York from April 29 to May 17; it included Isador Lubin of the United States. Its recommendations for certain revisions in its terms of reference were, with some amendment, substantially approved by the Council. The Commission also suggested changes in the terms of reference of the proposed subcommissions and definitely recommended that it be empowered to establish a Temporary Subcommission on Economic Reconstruction of Devastated Areas. One of the principal effects of the proposed changes was to make it clear that the Commission had sufficient authority to bring problems to the attention of the Council on its own initiative and not merely by reference from the Council.

The preliminary Commission called attention to certain economic problems requiring immediate attention: economic reconstruction of devastated areas, the problem of control and allocation machinery for materials in short supply, and the need for study of the relief needs of the world after the cessation of the operations of UNRRA early in 1947.

It also gave considerable attention to the projected organization of its own activities as a fully established Commission of the Council, clarifying its relations with other commissions and with specialized agencies by recommending the type of problems on which it should advise the Council.

Council Action

On the basis of this report, the Council amended the terms of reference as adopted in London, to read as follows:

- "(a) The Commission shall advise the Economic and Social Council on economic questions in order to promote higher standards of living;

"(b) It

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- "(b) It shall examine such questions as may be submitted to it by the Council and shall on its own initiative report to the Council on problems which, in its opinion, require urgent attention;
- "(c) It shall make recommendations to the Council with reference to economic questions involving concerted study and/or action by more than one specialized agency or commission of the Council and in particular shall draw the attention of the Council to the probable influence of the policies and activities of other commissions of the Council, the specialized agencies or other international organizations on the issues mentioned in paragraph (d) below;
- "(d) In particular, it shall be the function of the Commission to advise the Council on:
- "(i) The prevention of wide fluctuations in economic activity and the promotion of full employment by the coordination of national full employment policies and by international action;
 - "(ii) Problems of the reconstruction of devastated areas and other urgent problems arising from the war, with a view to developing means of giving real help, which is so necessary, to various members of the United Nations whose territories have been devastated by the enemy as a result of occupation and war activities;
 - "(iii) The promotion of economic development and progress with special regard to the problems of less developed areas.

In carrying out the functions set forth above, the Commission shall take account of the close relationship between the short-term problems and the long-term objectives of an expanding and integrated world economy."

In the course of discussion in the Drafting Committee on Reports of the Commissions in the Economic Field and in the Council, which led to the eventual adoption of the above terms of reference by the Council, two main questions arose.

First,

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First, it was felt by some that the words "full employment", which had been used in earlier drafts of Paragraph (a) of the Proposed Terms of Reference, did not sufficiently reflect the principal economic problems of some of the less industrialized countries. Accordingly, the words "Higher standards of living" were substituted.

Second, in the earlier drafts, the words "with due regard to the need for meeting short-term situations most consistently with the requirements of long-term policy" had been used in connection with the reconstruction functions of the Commission. Some Members, however, felt that these words were susceptible of confusion and misinterpretation, and expressed the opinion that it was unjustifiable to survey, according to this criterion, only those countries which had been devastated by war. Other countries, it was pointed out, would have short-term problems too, whose solution should likewise be fitted into long-term economic plans, and this criterion applied equally to their policies. Deletion of these words was therefore suggested by the representatives of Norway, Ukrainian SSR, and the USSR. The Council agreed to adopt as a substitute the following language:

"With a view to developing means of giving real help, which is so necessary, to various Members of the United Nations whose territories have been devastated by the enemy as a result of occupation and war activities."

This carried, although in view of the United States the deletion was unwise even if the addition were to be made. The problem before the United Nations today is the transition which must be made from an emergency period to a stable world economy. It is necessary to keep long-range objectives constantly before our eyes, even when present urgent necessity causes us temporarily to adopt policies inconsistent with our long-term objectives, if any consistent pattern is eventually to emerge. After further consideration of this view as expressed by the United States representative, it was finally agreed to restore the essence of this idea, but to make it applicable to all the functions of the Economic and Employment Commission. Accordingly an additional paragraph was added at the end of the amended terms of reference, stating that "in carrying out the functions set forth above, the Commission shall take account of the close relationship between the short-term problems and the long-term objectives of an expanding and integrated world economy".

Considerable

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Considerable attention was also given to the terms of reference of the three permanent subcommissions. Since the Drafting Committee was unable to finish its work by the end of the Session, however, it was agreed that the terms adopted at the First Session of the Council in London should stand--at least until the Third Session--when they might be reopened.

Reconstruction of Devastated Areas

Among the most important immediate accomplishments of the Council was the establishment of a Temporary Subcommission on the Economic Reconstruction of Devastated Areas, to make an on-the-spot survey of reconstruction needs of countries devastated by war and to report not later than September 2nd on problems of the countries visited.

Discussion of this Subcommission centered on two points: first, whether the proposed survey should include any non-United Nations countries in its scope. Certain members held that the work of this Subcommission should be exclusively devoted to the United Nations. The United States, after emphasizing the integrated nature of international economic problems, offered compromise wording for the proposed terms of reference of the Subcommission, authorizing it to visit all countries occupied or devastated by war (except Germany and Japan), taking into account "their economic relations with Germany and Japan" and "bearing in mind the special claims of countries Members of the United Nations". This latter wording was proposed by the United Kingdom. Provision was also made for considering "relations with neutral countries" and for enlisting the cooperation of their governments. This language was adopted, along with a stipulation (to meet Soviet questions) that visits by the Subcommission to any country would be only with the permission of the government concerned.

The Subcommission was established with a membership of the following twenty countries, including all those likely to be visited: Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, France, Greece, India, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia. Its first meeting has been scheduled for July 29 in London.

Statistical

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Statistical

Report of the Nuclear Commission

The report of the nuclear Statistical Commission, under the Chairmanship of Stuart A. Rice of the United States, met with the general favor of the Council at its Second Session. The task of the initial meeting of the Commission had been greatly facilitated by a number of working papers, dealing largely with organizational and background matters submitted by Mr. Rice. Secretariat services were also provided by detail of personnel to the United Nations, primarily by the United States Government.

The Commission's report made the following major recommendations to the Council:

- 1) That a permanent Statistical Commission of not more than twelve members be established by the Economic and Social Council, the members to be appointed in their individual capacities on the basis of technical competence.
- 2) That the Statistical Commission be charged with the task of assisting the Council in:
 - (a) promoting the development of national statistics and the improvement of their comparability;
 - (b) the coordination of the statistical work of specialized agencies;
 - (c) the development of the central statistical services of the Secretariat;
 - (d) advising the organs of the United Nations on general questions relating to the collection, interpretation and dissemination of statistical information;
 - (e) promoting the improvement of statistics and statistical methods generally.
- 3) That suitable provision be made for coordinating the statistical activities of the United Nations and specialized agencies which are brought into relationship with it.

4) That



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4) That there be established within the Secretariat of the United Nations a thoroughly competent central statistical unit adequate to serve the statistical needs of all departments and organs of the United Nations and to perform other functions described in detail in the Commission's report.

5) That appropriate steps be taken to devise methods by which the activities of quasi-governmental and non-governmental statistical organizations, including regional organizations, may be related to those of the United Nations.

6) That the Secretary-General be requested to maintain without interruption the statistical activities of the League of Nations, and submit plans to the Statistical Commission for the future disposition of these activities.

7) That a Subcommittee on Statistical Sampling of not more than nine members be established.

Council Action

The report of the Statistical Commission was referred by the Council without comment to the Drafting Committee on Reports of Commissions in the Economic Field, for preparation of a resolution based on it. The section on composition was subsequently assigned for separate handling by the Council's Joint Committee on Composition of Commissions. Consideration of certain items, as listed below, were deferred to the Session of the Council. With the omission of these and minor changes in drafting, the Commission's report was adopted by the Drafting Committee as the basis of a Draft Resolution which was passed by the Council on June 21. During the discussion in the Drafting Committee, as the basis of a Draft Resolution which was passed by the Council on June 21. During the discussion in the Drafting Committee, it was made a matter of record that the Statistical Commission should take whatever action is necessary to promote on behalf of the Council the adoption of uniform minimum national standards on general population data. This proposal had wide support, particularly as the proposed Demographic Commission had not yet been established and work in the field of international population statistics needed to be undertaken immediately.

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The Committee on Negotiations with Specialized Agencies accepted recommendations of the Statistical Commission by incorporating, in the draft agreements being negotiated with various specialized agencies, suggested provisions relating to statistical services. Details of coordination remain to be worked out by the United Nations Secretariat, with the advice of the Commission.

During the Council's debate on the resolution establishing a permanent Statistical Commission, the Ukrainian delegate successfully insisted that the section on the Secretariat Statistical Division be amended to include the sentence: "The submission of statistical data and their publication will be undertaken with the consent of the governments concerned." This was deemed necessary in order to protect the possible confidential character of data submitted.

Unfinished Business

Major items of unfinished business for the Commission include:

- 1) Selection of the subcommission on sampling;
- 2) Providing continuing advice to the Secretariat on the organization, staffing, and operations of its Statistical Division;
- 3) Working out in further detail with the Secretariat the substantive problems of coordinating statistical activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies;
- 4) Formulating recommendations concerning the manner in which non-governmental and regional statistical organizations may be most effectively related to the statistical activities of the United Nations;
- 5) Reviewing the statistical activities of the League of Nations in order to recommend their permanent disposition;
- 6) Organizing its own work in promoting the improvement of statistics and statistical methods, including the development of national statistics and the improvement of their comparability.

Transport

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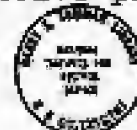
Transport and Communications

A nuclear Temporary Transport and Communications Commission was created by the Economic and Social Council at its First Session upon the recommendation of the United Nations Preparatory Commission in London.

The first meeting of the Temporary Commission opened on April 30, 1946. The terms of reference contained in the resolution of the Economic and Social Council provided that the Commission:

- (a) Make a general review of international organizations and problems in the transport and communications field with a view to making recommendations to the Council regarding present structure, proposals for new organizations, integration within the field and the nature and type of relationship of these organizations to the United Nations;
- (b) Establish preliminary contact with the organization necessary for the purpose set forth in paragraph (a);
- (c) Advise the Council regarding the disposition of the functions of the communications and transport organization of the League of Nations;
- (d) Report to the Council on substantive problems requiring immediate attention.

Report of the Temporary Commission



The Temporary Commission concluded its first session on May 17, having covered in a preliminary way all the ground contemplated in its terms of reference. Its report was concerned chiefly with inter-governmental organizations in the broad field of transport and communications, and only slightly with questions of Commission composition, detailed organization and procedures. It recommended a permanent Commission to advise and assist the Economic and Social Council, and made recommendations concerning the organization of specialized agencies in the five fields of transport and communications, aviation, telecommunications, postal cooperation, shipping, and inland transport. Although there was considerable discussion on some questions, on only one - that of a world shipping organization - was the Commission unable to make a unanimous recommendation. Some of its recommendations were the result

of compromise, for example, on the terms of reference of the permanent Commission - and some of its recommendations are not precise - for example, with respect to the nature of the intergovernmental organizations in the field of inland transport. Nevertheless, while the report had imperfections, it represented agreement reached after much discussion of these difficult problems.

Council Action

After being submitted at the Second Session of the Council, the report was referred to the Drafting Commission on Reports of Commissions in the Economic Field, for preparation of a Council resolution.

A Permanent Commission

The final resolution adopted by the Economic and Social Council provides for a permanent Commission which shall assist the Economic and Social Council with its tasks in the transport and communications field: advise on the coordination of specialized agencies, report (at the request of the Council) on the work of the individual agencies, advise in fields where no permanent organization exists and on problems in the fields of several agencies, suggest the creation of new agencies and conventions and revision of existing ones. Furthermore, upon instructions from the Economic and Social Council and when authorized by convention or agreement between parties, the Commission may conciliate disputes involving states or specialized agencies, and perform such other tasks as the Council may require. If so desired by the Economic and Social Council, it is to assist the Security Council and Trusteeship Council in accordance with Articles 65 and 91 of the Charter. These terms of reference follow the recommendations of the Temporary Commission, and in certain minor respects strengthen its proposals.

Aviation

The final resolution of the Economic and Social Council directs the Committee on Negotiation with Specialized Agencies to enter into negotiations as soon as possible with the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization for the purpose of bringing it into relationship with the United Nations, and to submit a report on these negotiations to the Third Session of the Council. This confirms and implements the recommendation of the Temporary Commission.

Inland

Inland Transport

Because of the importance and complexities of the problems of substance and organization inherent in inland transport, the Council decided that further study and recommendations were needed, and referred the matter to the permanent Transport and Communications Commission. This decision was substituted for the Temporary Commission's proposal that the European Central Inland Transport Organization be brought into immediate relation with the United Nations on a provisional basis, pending its reconstitution as a permanent specialized agency.

Telecommunications

With respect to the field of telecommunications, the Council "expresses its hope" that a world conference be convened as soon as possible to review the organization of the International Telecommunications Union and its regulations, and to enable the International Telecommunications Union to be brought into relationship with the United Nations as a specialized agency. The Secretary-General has been asked to convene a meeting of telecommunications experts with a view to drafting propositions for submission to the various governments with respect to bringing the International Telecommunications Union into relationship with the United Nations.

Postal Cooperation

The Council directed that the Secretary-General convene a meeting of postal experts designated by United Nations member governments, with a view to drafting propositions for submission to the Postal Congress which would enable the Universal Postal Congress to be brought into relationship with the United Nations.

Shipping

The recommendation of the Temporary Commission that the United Nations should sponsor the establishment of an international shipping organization to deal with technical matters was not accepted. The Council referred the question to the permanent Commission for further consideration and report. The Secretary-General was authorized meanwhile to seek the views of the United Maritime Consultative Council on this question.

Other



B-File

Other

Instead of accepting the proposal to call immediately an international conference on passports and frontier questions--a proposal actively opposed by the representative of the USSR--the Council recommended that the ground be prepared by convening a preliminary meeting of experts.

The Council approved the recommendation that the permanent Commission examine the fields of aviation, shipping and tele-communications in regard to safety at sea and in the air, and recommend machinery for the coordination of such activities.

The Council, in carrying out the General Assembly's resolution that it assume and provisionally carry out the work heretofore performed by the Economic, Financial and Transport Department of the League of Nations, directed the Secretary-General to put into effect the following proposals:

(a) that the European Central Inland Transport Organization continue, for the time being, the study of coordination of inland transport.

(b) that the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization continue, for the time being, the examination of identity papers for air transport flying staffs and of new facilities to be granted for air navigation.

(c) that the Statistical Commission of the Economic and Social Council consider, in collaboration with the Transport and Communications Commission and the specialized agencies, the problem of unification of transport and communications statistics.

(d) that the Transport and Communications Division of the Secretariat publish a monthly summary of important events in the transport field and the publication of multilateral convention and agreements, etc., relating to transport and communications questions.

Finally the Council drew the attention of the interested governments to two substantive problems which require immediate attention: the re-establishment and reorganization of intergovernmental and other international machinery for the

coordination

coordination

coordination of railroad problems in Europe; and second, the need for improvement in the present status of inland waterways in Europe.

Conclusion



Although the Temporary Transport and Communications Commission held only a short series of meetings, and while the Secretariat of the United Nations was not organized at that time to be of any material assistance to the Commission with background studies and information regarding its agenda, the Temporary Commission and the Economic and Social Council succeeded in dealing with a considerable number of important substantive problems. A number of the more controversial items, however, were referred to the permanent Transport and Communications Commission for further study. In view of the complicated problems in these extensive specialized fields, considerable progress has been made and a sound basis has been laid for constructive developments in future sessions of the permanent Commission and the Council.

Social Commission

Background

The Economic and Social Council set up at its First Session a nuclear Temporary Social Commission, as recommended by the United Nations Preparatory Commission, with terms of reference as follows:

- (a) to make a general review of international organization in the social field, and of problems not dealt with by existing organizations, with a view to making recommendations to the Council at an early date regarding the structure of commissions and subcommissions and possibly of new specialized agencies which it might appear desirable to maintain or establish;
- (b) to report to the Economic and Social Council on the advisability of bringing under the Council the activities in the social field hitherto carried on by the League of Nations, and such other activities as the work on the treatment of offenders now carried on by the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission;
- (c) to assume on an interim basis, pending the establishment of permanent machinery, the work of the League of Nations on such social questions as the traffic in women and children and child welfare;
- (d) to report to the Council on substantive problems in the social field requiring immediate attention.

Report of the Temporary Commission

Review of International Organization

A review of international organization in the social field was undertaken, and a chart attached to the Commission's report indicated the respective functions of the International Labor Organization, Food and Agriculture Organization, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, World Health Organization, and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and other organizations. The Temporary Commission recommended the immediate establishment of a permanent Social Commission, and it stressed the necessity for continuous contact between this proposed Commission and the Economic and Employment Commission.

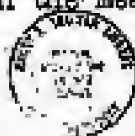
League of Nations' Activities

The work of the League of Nations in the social field concerning primarily the traffic in women and children and child welfare was analyzed and explained in an appendix to the Commission's report. The Commission recommended that the League's work be assumed by the proposed permanent Commission and that the work be considerably expanded. The question of specific interim action regarding the assumption of the League of Nations' work on social questions was left for the permanent Social Commission. Consultation between the permanent Commission and the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission on treatment of offenders was also recommended.

Problems

Problems Requiring
Immediate Attention

The Commission noted as special problems requiring immediate attention: questions raised by the prospective termination of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration's activities; the situation of homeless children in countries such as Greece and Yugoslavia; work in connection with housing, malnutrition and clothing in undeveloped areas. The Commission recommended that these problems be dealt with by the proposed permanent Commission, and perhaps in the meantime by the United Nations Secretariat.

Establishment of a
Permanent Commission

The general conclusions of the Temporary Commission were set forth in a resolution drafted for consideration by the Economic and Social Council. After considerable discussion and amendment this was adopted by the Council. In addition to a general scheme of operation, the resolution as amended provided terms of reference for the permanent Social Commission as follows:

- (a) To advise the Council on social questions of a general character, and in particular on all matters in the social field not covered by specialized inter-governmental agencies;
- (b) To advise the Council on practical measures that may be needed in the social field;
- (c) To advise the Council on measures needed for the coordination of activities in the social field;
- (d) To advise the Council on such international agreements and conventions on any of these matters as may be required and on their execution;
- (e) To report to the Council on the extent to which the recommendations of the United Nations in the field of social policy are being carried out.

The more important observations and recommendations of the Temporary Commission were referred to the permanent Commission for study, and it has been directed to consider the following matters:

- (a) Care of special groups such as children, the aged and the handicapped; and social services in areas which are developed and those which have been directly affected by the war;
- (b) Determination of the best means of continuing the League of Nations' functions regarding traffic in women and children, of carrying out child welfare work in cooperation with other international organizations, and of dealing with crime prevention and treatment of offenders;
- (c) Methods of dealing with:
 - (1) Questions which will be raised by the termination of the activities of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.
 - (2) The problem of setting up international machinery for housing, and town and country planning.

The Social Commission was requested to take steps to create a subcommission on children, and secondly, to consult with the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission.

The attention

The attention of the Secretary-General was drawn to the importance, first, of setting up an adequate staff for social work as recommended by the Temporary Social Commission and second, of securing such reports as are available from other governments and national and international agencies on traffic in women and children.

Conclusion

The Council's resolution recognized that the "raising of the standard of living and the welfare of the peoples of the countries of the United Nations, which should include not only wages and income, but all kinds of social services, is an important task for the United Nations." It also recognized the principle that social activities should be carried on by the United Nations with the active participation of organizations which unite the groups of people concerned, e.g., trade unions, agricultural societies, etc.; that cooperation with specialized agencies and other organizations is essential in social matters; and that the Economic and Social Council should coordinate such activities. The resolution further suggests that the United Nations should consider taking over any international social activities which do not come within the scope of a specialized agency.

Human RightsBackground

The Economic and Social Council at its First Session set up a nuclear Commission on Human Rights which was directed to submit "proposals, recommendations and reports to the Council regarding:

- (a) an international bill of rights;
- (b) international declarations or conventions on civil liberties, the status of women, freedom of information and similar matters;
- (c) the protection of minorities; and
- (d) the prevention of discrimination on grounds of race, sex, language or religion."

At its Second Session, the Economic and Social Council, aided by the report of the nuclear Commission, of which Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was Chairman, worked out a plan to meet these responsibilities. It adopted the proposal of the U.S. Delegation to give full Commission standing to the preliminary Subcommittee on the Status of Women. It proposed the creation of three permanent subcommittees to operate in the fields of Freedom of Information and the Press, Protection of Minorities and Prevention of Discrimination. Finally, it has indicated that the principal tasks of the full Commission on Human Rights should be:

1. Preparation of an international bill of rights;
2. Education in the field of Human Rights;
3. Development of principles of implementation or enforcement.

An International Bill of Rights

The nuclear Commission specifically recommended in its report that the full Commission should draft an international bill of rights as soon as possible, and that the draft, as completed by the full Commission, should be circulated among the United Nations Governments for their suggestions. This recommendation was neither approved nor disapproved by the Economic and Social Council but it may be hoped that, with the assistance of the Secretariat and of governmental and private organizations, preparatory steps can be taken to speed the program of the full Commission when constituted.

It is reasonable to suppose that civil liberties, freedom of information, and prevention of discrimination will be included in the bill. It seems likely that the Commission on Human Rights will delegate to the Commission on the Status of Women, at least in the first instance, the drawing up of any provisions in regard to women which it might be desirable to insert in an international bill of rights. Whether protection of minorities will become part of the bill is a matter to be worked out with particular care.

What, in addition to these topics, may be expected from an international bill of rights, cannot be predicted with any accuracy. The "human rights and fundamental freedoms", to which the United Nations Charter often refers, might be divided into:

- (a) immunities of the type covered by the United States bill of rights (freedom of speech, freedom of religion, etc.) which primarily require inaction on the part of the States; and

- (b) the more recently-emphasized rights, which require positive measures on the part of governments, such as the right to food, the right to a job, social security and access to education, as may be agreed upon.

The amount of ground which the bill may cover will depend in large measure upon whether it is intended to be a legally enforceable bill or simply the expression of an ideal which is admittedly unattainable everywhere at this time.

Education for Human Rights

The Commission is given broad responsibilities by the Council for educating the general public in the understanding of human rights. Effective enforcement of Human Rights will depend upon public support for such a program; and it is unlikely that public support can be counted on unless the public is informed.

Specifically, the education for which the Human Rights Commission will be responsible is:

- (a) compilation of a yearbook on law and usage relating to human rights. The first edition of this yearbook will include all declarations and bills of human rights now in force;
- (b) collection and publication of information on human rights activities of United Nations organs, and on plans and declarations concerning human rights made by specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations
- (c) information on trials of war criminals; and
- (d) preparation of a survey of the development of human rights.

In order to accomplish this monumental task of education, there will have to be built up in the Secretariat a substantial group of experts in this field, or else the work will have to be farmed out to such specialized agencies as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the International Labor Organization and various non-governmental organizations which may be willing to volunteer assistance.

Enforcement

During the discussions, one of the members of the Commission emphasized his belief that, had some international organization been in a position to make Germany desist from its persecution of the Jews in the early days of the Hitler regime, the Second World War could have been avoided. However, Article 2(7) of the Charter specifically excludes matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the members from the jurisdiction of the United Nations. This provision makes it clear that the Commission on Human Rights may not, either directly or through another agency, actively intervene in connection with violations of an international bill of rights, unless it can be shown that the violations constitute a threat to the peace or unless a treaty may be cited for justifying intervention. The Commission members had this point specifically in mind when they recommended that the Council

reinstate

reinstate the original provision of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations to the effect that the Commission's terms of reference should include "any matters within the field of human rights likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations", a clause which had been removed during the Council's First Session. At its Second Session, the Council adopted a compromise provision that the Commission's powers would extend not only to the matters covered in the original terms of reference but also to "any other matters concerning human rights". The question whether violations of human rights can be considered as a threat to the peace is left open for future determination.

The Council's resolution contains a recommendation that international treaties should, as a general principle, conform to the fundamental standards of human rights set forth in the Charter. This includes peace treaties "to the fullest extent practicable". In addition, the Commission's terms of reference envisage the eventual formulation of specific treaties regarding human rights, and it should be noted, the bill itself might be made a treaty obligation. Pending the preparation of an international bill of rights, new members of the United Nations would, by signing the Charter, become automatically committed to the general human rights provisions which it contains.

Failing active methods of implementation, there is no question but that the Commission can attain certain desired results through publicity. Information groups or local human rights committees authorized by the Council, might substantially assist the Commission in bringing to light violations of human rights.

The Council has approved the Commission's proposal that "implementation of the observance of human rights" is requisite to the fulfilment of the purpose of the United Nations, and has requested the Commission "to submit at an early date suggestions regarding the ways and means for the effective implementation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, with a view to assisting the Economic and Social Council in working out arrangements for such implementation with other appropriate organs of the United Nations".

The Three Subcommissions

The Subcommittee on Freedom of Information and of the Press was strongly urged by the United States. Proposed terms of reference, submitted on behalf of the United States, stressed the necessity for freedom in the matter of communications. Certain members of the Commission were anxious to emphasize the importance of controlling information so as to avoid the dissemination of false or misleading statements. As a result, the Commission accepted, and the Council approved, narrower terms of reference than those originally proposed by the United States. These provide for a subcommission whose functions will be "in the first instance to examine what rights, obligations and practices should be included in the concept of freedom of information, and to report to the Commission on Human Rights on any issue that may arise from such examination".

While the

FILE

While the nuclear Commission had recommended that the Subcommittee on Freedom of Information and of the Press be established forthwith, the Council merely "empowered" the Commission on Human Rights to establish the Subcommittee. Consequently, the Subcommittee can not be set up until the full Commission on Human Rights has been established by the Council and has met and voted in favor of such action.

The other two Subcommittees which the full Commission is empowered to establish - one dealing with minorities and the other with the prevention of discrimination - were suggested by the Soviet Union. While these subcommittees had not been planned by the nuclear Commission on Human Rights at its first session, on the ground that too great an immediate burden of work would be involved by assuming these additional problems, the United States representative supported the Soviet motion that the two subcommittees be established, since the subjects are obviously of great importance.



Status of Women

Background

The Economic and Social Council from the very beginning recognized the prevention of discrimination as one of its primary objectives. To start working toward elimination of discrimination on grounds of sex, the Council, at its first meeting established a Subcommittee on the Status of Women authorized to:

- (a) submit proposals, recommendations, and reports to the Commission on Human Rights regarding the status of women;
- (b) submit proposals to the Council, through the Commission on Human Rights, regarding its terms of reference;
- (c) make recommendations to the Council on the definitive composition of the Subcommittee, through the Commission on Human Rights.

The Report of the Subcommittee

The recommendations of the nuclear Subcommittee were elaborate and rather far-reaching in their implications. They envisaged as falling within the scope of the permanent Subcommittee on the Status of Women, problems in the fields of political, civil, educational, social and economic rights. The recommendations covered not only such problems as abolishing prostitution, which clearly fall within the terms of reference of the Subcommittee on Status of Women; but also problems lying in the area of child welfare. Finally, the subcommittee's report set forth a detailed and elaborate program of action which involved operational duties for the Subcommittee.

Council Action

The Council approved a proposal presented by the United States to make the Subcommittee a full Commission, equal in status to the other principal commissions, and empowered the full Commission "to prepare recommendations and reports to the Economic and Social Council on promoting woman's rights in the political, economic, social and educational fields - and to make recommendations to the Council on urgent problems requiring immediate attention in the field of women's rights". This was done in recognition of the importance which the Council attached to the problems in this field.

The Council then referred to this full Commission for further study the sections of the Subcommittee's report on policy and programs. This followed the recommendations of the Commission on Human Rights, through which the Subcommittee's report had been forwarded.

The Council also requested the Secretary-General to arrange for a "complete detailed study of legislation concerning the status of women - the practical application of such legislation". Such a survey had early been regarded as a valuable enterprise for the Commission to undertake. The League of Nations, in 1937, had initiated a study of the legal status of women throughout the world. The results of its three years of work were made available to the Subcommittee on the Status of Women as the basis for a fuller study. The League material is now to be brought up to date and amplified, with emphasis on the need for analyzing practice in the application of the law, rather than relying on formal statutes that may not have been fully observed.

Looking to The Future

Assistance to Food and Agriculture Organization

With a large part of the world in the grip of famine, it was fitting for the United Nations to give consideration to steps which could be taken to meet the world's desperate food problems.

First steps had been taken through the General Assembly resolution of February which called on all governments, peoples and international organizations to make every possible effort to increase food supplies. In addition, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations published in May a preliminary World Food Appraisal and called a Special Meeting on Urgent Food Problems which convened in Washington in May. By Resolution 3 of this meeting, the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization was requested to undertake a survey and draw up "proposals concerning longer-term international machinery with reference to food." This undertaking, in accordance with the terms of the resolution, was to be carried out in consultation with the Economic and Social Council.

On the initiative of the United States Representative, the Economic and Social Council adopted at its second session a resolution, which was carried unanimously, calling on the Secretary-General of United Nations to assist the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization in the survey and subsequent drafting of proposals.

The Secretary-General is to report to the Third Session of the Council on action taken pursuant to this resolution of the Council.

Adjourned Items

Several items on the agenda of the Second Session of the Economic and Social Council were held over by the Council for consideration at its next session.

Fiscal Commission



The Preparatory Commission of the United Nations recommended that the Council establish a Fiscal Commission with the following terms of reference: "make studies and advise the Council on matters related to:

- (a) international taxation problems;
- (b) exchange of information among States on the techniques of government finance and on their social and economic effects;
- (c) fiscal techniques to assist the prevention of depressions or inflation; and
- (d) such functions of the Fiscal Committee of the League of Nations as the United Nations may decide to assume."

At the Second Session of the Council, the Colombian Delegate proposed the establishment of a Fiscal Commission, with certain changes in terms of reference from those suggested above. The purpose of these changes was to make more specific the functions of the Commission, in order to differentiate its field of interest more sharply from that of other commissions, particularly the Economic and Employment Commission.

The Council referred the matter to the Drafting Committee on Reports of the Economic Commissions of the Council, but did not again discuss the question.

Demographic Commission

The Preparatory Commission also recommended that the Council establish a Demographic Commission with the following terms of reference: "This Commission should make studies and advise the Council on matters related to:

- (a) population growth and the factors determining it;
- (b) the effectiveness of policies designed to influence these factors;
- (c) the bearing of population changes on economic and social conditions;
- (d) general population and migration questions."

The Council referred the matter to the Drafting Committee of the Council for study, but no further action was taken during the Second Session.

Coordination Commission

The Preparatory Commission, in an analysis of relationships between the Council and the specialized agencies, suggested the establishment of a Coordination Commission, to be composed of the chief executives of all the specialized agencies, or their deputies, and representatives of the Economic and Social Council and the United Nations Secretariat. The principal purpose of this Commission would be to coordinate the activities of the specialized agencies, but it would also have a responsibility for coordinating the activities of the Commissions themselves. The task would include the scheduling of meetings in such a way as to avoid overlapping; the review of arrangements made between agencies for cooperative purposes, etc.

At the Second Session of the Council, after some discussion of the functions of the proposed Coordination Commission, a resolution was introduced by the United States delegation suggesting the creation of a Committee on Coordination, consisting of the President of the Council and of seven others of its members. Among the duties of the Committee would be the consideration of controversies between the specialized agencies, or between them and the Commissions. As a complement to this committee, the United States Member also proposed a Committee of Administrative Officers, composed of the Secretary-General and of the corresponding officers of the specialized agencies brought into relationship with the United Nations.

Due to shortness of time, consideration of this proposal was postponed until the next session of the Council.

Relationships of the Economic and Social Council with the Security Council and the Trusteeship Council

The Preparatory Commission noted the problem of relationships of the Economic and Social Council with the other Councils as one that should be considered at an early date, specifically: "The Council should consider at its first session ... arrangements for conferring respectively with representatives of the Security Council and of the Trusteeship Council on methods of cooperation in dealing with matters of common concern. Included in the discussion would be such subjects as exchange of information, attendance of representatives of one Council at meetings of the other, communication with

specialized agencies, and collaboration on study projects. Recommendations resulting from such a conference, when approved by both Councils, would constitute a working arrangement to govern the normal relations of the Councils with each other."

The first Session of the Council in London decided that it would be more appropriate to discuss this problem at a later date when more experience was available. Since the Council did not reach this item on its agenda during the Second Session, it was postponed to the Third Session.

Loans Sponsored by the League of Nations

The United Kingdom placed on the agenda a proposal that the Council should assume certain technical functions, formerly performed by the Council of the League of Nations; with respect to international loans which were issued under the auspices of the League between 1922 and 1932. While no financial liability would fall upon the Council as a result of this proposal, the Czechoslovakian and Russian delegates opposed immediate consideration of this matter by the Council. Adopting a suggestion of the United States representative, the Council decided to defer the question until the next session, pending further study of its implications, particularly in connection with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

League of Red Cross Societies

The delegate from Belgium introduced a resolution which would grant to the League of Red Cross Societies the same status enjoyed by them under the Covenant of the League of Nations, which states: "The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and cooperation of duly authorized voluntary Red Cross organizations, having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world".

The Council did not discuss this question, and it is therefore, postponed for later consideration.

Third Session

The date of the Third Session of the Council was set at August 31, 1946, on the understanding that the General Assembly would convene on September 3. At this Third Session, there are at least three important items of business which will require discussion and will undoubtedly appear on the agenda:

First, the membership of the permanent commissions of the Council will have to be determined in order that the commissions may be set up as going concerns.

Secondly, the reports of two important groups will be considered by the Council: The Temporary Subcommittee on the Economic Reconstruction of Devastated Areas and the Committee on Finances of the proposed International Refugee Organization.

Another important matter which will be before the Council at its Third Session is the extension of the area of relationships with the specialized agencies to include, particularly, such organizations as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund.

COMMITTEES AND COMMISSIONS
OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

I

During the first session of the Economic and Social Council in London in February 1946, the following Committees and Nuclear Commissions were established, with members as indicated. Nuclear Commission members were appointed in their individual capacities, Committees were made up of representatives of the countries named, with the exception of the Technical Preparatory Committee for the International Health Conference.

Economic and Employment Commission:

Mr. William A. Mackintosh - Chairman (Canada)
M. Fernand van Langenhove (Belgium)
Mr. Ta-Yeh Wu - Vice-Chairman, in place of
Mr. Franklin L. Ho (China)
Sr. Luis Angel Arango (Named but absent) (Colombia)
M. Alexander Kuncsi (Czechoslovakia)
Mlle. Rena Zafirion (Greece)
Mr. A. P. Morozov, (last five meetings) and
Mr. Ivan E. Kamenov (observer) (USSR)
Mr. Alexander Loveday (United Kingdom)
Mr. Isador Lubin (United States)

Statistical Commission:

Mr. Stuart A. Rice - Chairman (United States)
Mr. T. K. Liou (China)
M. Alfred Sauvy (France)
Mr. P. C. Mahalanobis (India)
Mr. M. G. Jahn, absent, but submitted written communication (Norway)
Mr. Pavel I. Fedosimov (USSR)
Mr. Harry Campion (United Kingdom)
(Ukrainian SSR) Not yet appointed

Temporary Transport and Communications Commission:

Sir H. Osborne Mance - Chairman (United Kingdom)
Sr. Alfonso Grez (Chile)
Mr. Frank Kefung, in place of Mr. Koh Li (China)
M. Kiri Valkoborsky, in place of M. Baracek-Jaquier, -
Vice-Chairman (Czechoslovakia)
M. Jean Filippé (France)
Sir Gurunath Bawoor (absent) (India)
Mr. Leif Boegh (Norway)
Mr. Nikolai Molyakov (USSR)
Mr. George Baker (United States)

Temporary

Temporary Social Commission

M. Henry Hauck - Chairman (France)
Sr. Gerardo Molina (Colombia)
Sr. Ramiro Guerra-y-Sanchez (Cuba)
Dr. Frantisek Kraus - Rapporteur (Czechoslovakia)
M. Alexandre Argyropoulos, in place of M. X.
Zolotas (Greece)
Sr. Manuel Seoane (Peru)
Mr. S. W. Harris - Vice-Chairman (United Kingdom)
Mme. Krista Djordjevic (Yugoslavia)
(Ukrainian SSR) Not yet appointed

Commission on Human Rights:

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt - Chairman (United States)
M. Fernand Dehousse (Belgium)
Dr. C. L. Hsia, nominated in place of Dr. John G. M. Wu
(China)
Prof. Rene Cassin - Vice-Chairman (France)
Mr. K. C. Neogy - Rapporteur (India)
Mr. Paul Berg (Norway)
Sr. Victor Raul Haya de la Torre (Peru)
Mr. Alexander Borisov, in place of Mr. Nikolai Kravkov,
who served on the Commission until May 13 (USSR)
M. Dusan Brkic, in place of Dr. Jerko Redkovic
(Yugoslavia)

Subcommission on the Status of Women:

Mme. Bodil Begtrup - Chairman (Denmark)
Srta. Minerva Bernerdino - Vice-Chairman (Dominican
Republic)
Mme. W. S. New, in place of Miss Wu Yi Fang (China)
Madame Marie Helene Lefebvreux, in place of Madame
Vienot (France)
Mrs. Hansa Mehta, in place of Rani Amrit Kaur (India)
Mlle. Angela Jardek - Rapporteur (Lebanon)
Mlle. Fryderyka Kalinowska (Poland)
(USAR) Not yet appointed

Ex-officio from Commission on Human Rights:

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt (United States)
Prof. Rene Cassin (France)
M. Dusan Brkic (Yugoslavia)
Srta. Gabriela Mistral was originally a member of the
Subcommission, but she resigned from this post
and was not replaced (Chile)

Also established at the first session of ECOSOC was a Narcotics
Commission to be composed of official government representa-
tives of the following countries:

Canada

B

Canada	Iran	Turkey
China	Mexico	United Kingdom
Egypt	Netherlands	United States
France	Peru	USSR
India	Poland	Yugoslavia

The United States representative is Mr. Harry J. Anslinger, United States Commissioner of Narcotics in the Treasury Department.

Committee on Arrangements for Consultation with Non-Governmental Organizations:

<u>Member</u>	<u>Represented by</u>
India	Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar - Chairman
China	Dr. F. C. Chang and Dr. S. J. Fong
Cuba	Sr. Ramiro Guerra-y-Sanchez
France	M. Chetenet and M. F. de Rose
Greece	M. Alexandre Argyropoulos
Lebanon	M. Charles Malik and M. E. A. Ghorra
Peru	Sr. Alberto Arca Parro
Ukrainian SSR	Mr. Anatoli Baronovsky
USSR	Mr. Nikolai I. Pechov and Mr. Pavel M. Chernyshev
United Kingdom	Rt. Hon. P. J. Noel-Baker and Mr. H. G. Gee
United States	Mr. John G. Winant and Mr. Walter Kotschnig
Yugoslavia	M. Pavlo Lukin

Committee on Negotiations with Specialized Agencies:

<u>Member</u>	<u>Represented by</u>
India	Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar - Chairman
Belgium	M. Fernand Dehouasse and M. Roland Labau
Canada	Mr. Fillies A. Mackintosh
Chile	Sr. Soto
China	Dr. F. C. Chang and Dr. Y. C. Yang
Colombia	
Czechoslovakia	M. Jiri Stolz
France	M. Raymond Bousquet
Norway	Mr. Ole Colbjornsen
USSR	Mr. Pavel M. Chernyshev
United Kingdom	Rt. Hon. P. J. Noel-Baker and Mr. J. M. Fleming
United States	Mr. John G. Winant and Mr. Walter Kotschnig



Technical Preparatory Committee for the International Health Conference:

Dr. Gregorio Bermann (Argentina)
Dr. Rene Sand - Chairman (Belgium)
Dr. Geraldo H. de Paula Souza (Brazil)
Dr. G. Brock Chisholm - Rapporteur (Canada)
Dr. Szeming Sze (China)
Dr. Joseph Cancik (Czechoslovakia)
Dr. Aly Tewfik Shousha Pasha
 Alternate: Dr. Wasfy Omar (Egypt)
Dr. Andre Cavaillon
 Alternate: Dr. Xavier Leclainche (France)
Dr. Phokion Kopanaris
 Alternate: M. Jean Roais (Greece)
Major C. Mani
 Alternate: Dr. Chuni Lal Katiel (India)
Dr. Manuel Martinez-Baez - Vice-Chairman (Mexico)
Dr. Karl Evang (Norway)
Dr. Martin Kacprzek (Poland)
Sir Wilson Jameson
 Alternate: Dr. Melville Mackenzie (United Kingdom)
Surgeon-General Thomas Farran
 Alternate: Dr. James A. Doull (United States)
Dr. Andrija Stampar (Yugoslavia)

In a consultative capacity, representatives of:

The Pan American Sanitary Bureau - Dr. Hugh Cumming;
 Dr. Aristides A. Moll
L'Office International d'Hygiene Publique - Dr. M. T. Morgan;
 Dr. Robert Pierret
The League of Nations Health Organization - Dr. Jacquex Parisot;
 Dr. Yves M. Biraud
UNRRA - Dr. Andrew Topping; Dr. Neville Goodman; Dr. Maurice Gaud

Special Committee on Refugees and Displaced Persons:

<u>Member</u>	<u>Represented by</u>
Australia	Mr. John Douglas Lloyd Hood
Belgium	M. Joseph Marie Schneider
Brazil	Sr. Arceu Guimaraes
Byelorussian SSR	Mr. Vassily P. Smolier
Canada	Mr. James Gray Turgeon
China	Mr. T. D. Tsien
Colombia	Sr. Indalecio Lloveno-Aguirre
Czechoslovakia	M. Larel Lisicky - Second Vice-Chairman
Dominican Republic	Sr. Porfirio Herrera-Beez
France	M. Raymond Bousquet - Rapporteur
Lebanon	M. Victor Khouri
Netherlands	Mme. H. Verwey-Jonker and M. Bastien Wouter Havench

New Zealand

(Special Committee on Refugees and Displaced Persons, continued):

<u>Member</u>	<u>Represented by</u>
New Zealand	Mr. F. J. Jordan and Miss Lorna Charlotte McPhee
Peru	Sr. Don Carlos Mackenhenie
Poland	M. Josef M. Winiewicz - First Vice-Chairman
Ukrainian SSR	Mr. Vasily G. Bregin
USSR	General P. F. Ratov
United Kingdom	Mr. Hector McNeil - Chairman - and Sir George Rendel
United States	Mr. George L. Warren
Yugoslavia	M. Alois Sebler

In a consultative capacity, the Director of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees and the Director-General of UNRRA.

II

In the second session of the Economic and Social Council, the bulk of the work was carried on in the following committees, with membership as indicated:

Drafting Committee on Reports of the Commissions in the Social Field:

<u>Member</u>	<u>Represented by</u>
Belgium	M. Fernand Dehousse
Chile	Sr. Carlos Davila, Sr. Enrique Bustos, and Sr. Soto
China	Mr. Y. C. Yang
Cuba	Sr. Ramiro Guerra-y-Sanchez
France	M. Henri Hauck - Chairman
Lebanon	M. Charles Malik
Ukrainian SSR	Mr. Anatoli Baranovsky
USSR	Mr. Nikolai I. Peonov, Mr. Borisov and Mr. Orlov
United Kingdom	Mr. S. W. Harris, Mr. J. M. Phillips and Mr. P. H. Gerd-Bosch
United States	Mr. Leroy D. Stinebower, later Mr. Walter Kotschmig
Yugoslavia	Dr. Andrija Stenpar and M. Leo Mates

Drafting Committee on Reports of the Commissions in the Economic Field:

<u>Member</u>	<u>Represented by</u>
Canada	Mr. L. Melania
China	Mr. P. C. Chang
Colombia	

Czechoslovakia

(Drafting Committee on Reports of the Commissions in the Economic Field, continued):

<u>Member</u>	<u>Represented by</u>
Czechoslovakia	M. Josef Hanc
France	M. Raymond Bousquet
Greece	M. Alexandre Argyropoulos
India	Sir Ramaswami Madalier - Chairman
Norway	Mr. Ole Colbjørnsen
Peru	Sr. Alberto Arco Ferro
USSR	Mr. Alexander F. Morozov
United Kingdom	Mr. J. M. Fleming
United States	Mr. Leroy D. Stinebower

Joint Committee of the Council on Composition of Commissions:

<u>Member</u>	<u>Represented by</u>
Belgium	M. Fernand Dehousse and Mr. Roland Lebeau
Canada	Mr. L. Malanie and Mr. W. A. Mackintosh
Chile	Sr. Carlos Davila and Sr. Soto
China	Mr. P. C. Cheng
Cuba	Sr. Ramiro Guerra-y-Sanchez
Czechoslovakia	M. Josef Hanc
France	M. Raymond Bousquet
Greece	M. Alexandre Argyropoulos
India	Sir Ramaswami Madalier - Chairman, Mr. S. K. Kirpalani and Mr. M. Ayub
Lebanon	M. Charles Malik and M. George Hakim
Norway	Mr. Ole Colbjørnsen
Peru	Sr. Alberto Arco Ferro
Ukrainian SSR	Mr. Anatoli Berenovsky
USSR	Mr. Nikolai I. Feonov
United Kingdom	Mr. H. M. Phillips
United States	Mr. Leroy D. Stinebower
Yugoslavia	M. Stane Krasovec and Dr. Andrija Stanpar

Drafting Committee of the Council on the Resolution concerning the Creation of the Health Organization of the United Nations:-

<u>Member</u>	<u>Represented by</u>
Belgium	M. Fernand Dehousse
Chile	Sr. Carlos Davila
China	Mr. Szeming Sze
Czechoslovakia	M. Josef Brunlik
France	M. Monnier
Peru	Sr. Alberto Arco Ferro
USSR	Mr. Alexander P. Borisov
United Kingdom	Rt. Hon. P. J. Noel-Baker

United States

(Drafting Committee of the Council on the Resolution concerning the Creation of the Health Organization of the United Nations, continued):

<u>Member</u>	<u>Represented by</u>
United States	Mr. Otis Mulliken
Yugoslavia	Mr. Andrija Stampar - Vice-Chairman
Chairman ex-Officio	
The President of the Council	Sir Rameswami Mudaliar

III

As a result of Council action during the Second Session, one Sub-commission was established:

Temporary Subcommission on Economic Reconstruction of Devastated Areas:

Australia	Ethiopia	New Zealand	Ukrainian SSR
Belgium	France	Norway	USSR
Canada	Greece	Peru	United Kingdom
China	India	Philippines	United States
Czechoslovakia	Netherlands	Poland	Yugoslavia

Representative of France to be Chairman
Representative of China to be Vice-Chairman

IV

Committee of the Whole on Refugees and Displaced Persons:

Belgium	M. Fernand Dehousse and M. Roland Lebeau
Canada	Mr. F. G. Turgeon and Mr. R. G. Riddell
Chile	Sr. Carlos Davila and Sr. Soto
China	Dr. P. C. Yang
Colombia	Sr. Zuleta-Angel
Cuba	Sr. Pazos
Czechoslovakia	M. Jiri Stola
France	M. Raymond Bousquet
Greece	M. Alexandre Argyropoulos
India	Mr. S. K. Kirpalani, Sir Rameswami Mudaliar - Chairman
Lebanon	M. Charles Malik
Norway	Mr. Ole Colbjørnsen and Mr. Ivar Lunde
Peru	Sr. Alberto Arca Perro
Ukrainian SSR	Mr. Anatoli Baranovsky and Mr. Gregori D. Stednak
USSR	Mr. Mikolei I. Feonov and General P. F. Ratov

United Kingdom

(Committee of the Whole on Refugees and Displaced Persons,
continued):

United Kingdom	Mr. Hector McNeil and Sir George Randal
United States	Mr. John G. Winant
Yugoslavia	M. Leo Nates

In a consultative capacity:

Sir Herbert Emerson, Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees;
Mr. Youdin and Mr. Aickin, UNRRA.

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APPENDIX II

LIST OF DELEGATES, ALTERNATES AND ADVISERS TO THE SECOND
SESSION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

Belgium	Delegate Alternates	M. Fernand Dehousse M. Roland Lebeau M. Joseph Wisot
Canada	Delegate Alternate Advisers Secretary	The Hon. Brooke Claxton Dr. W. A. Mackintosh; Mr. W. G. Turgeon Dr. G. Brock Chisholm Mr. R. G. Riddell Mr. L. Malania Mr. J. H. McDonald Mr. Sicotte
Chile	Delegate Secretary- Adviser	Mr. Carlos Davila Mr. Enrique Bustos
China	Delegate Advisers Consultants Secretary	Dr. P. C. Chang Dr. Y. C. Yang Dr. Szeming Sze Dr. S. J. Fong Dr. Daniel Lew Dr. Y. L. Wu Mr. Pao-Yi Tsao
Colombia	Delegate	Dr. Emilio Toro
Cuba	Delegate	Dr. Ramiro Guerra-y-Sanchez
Czechoslovakia	Delegate Alternate Advisers	Dr. Josef Hanc Dr. Ladislav Radnsky Dr. Josef Brunlik Dr. Karll Machucek Dr. Nebovicky Mr. Jiri Stolz
France	Delegate Alternate Advisers	M. Alexandre Parodi M. Hervé Alphand M. Droux M. Monnier M. Valensi M. Veillet-Lavalles M. Guarin de Beaumont M. Raymond Bousquet M. Chatenet M. Delaney M. Roger Seydoux
Greece	Delegate Alternate	Mr. Alexandre Argyropoulos M. Vassili Dendramis



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Greece (cont'd)	Advisers	M. Charles Arliotis M. Jean Callergis M. Jason Dracoulis
	Secretary	
India	Delegate Alternate Secretary- Adviser	Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar Mr. S.K. Kirpalani Mr. M. Ayub
Lebanon	Delegate Alternate	Dr. Charles Malik Mr. George Hakim
Norway	Delegate Advisers	Mr. Ole Colbjørnsen Mr. Knut Getz Wold Mr. Olav Bratteli Mr. G. Ring Amundsen Mr. Ivar Lunde
Peru	Delegate	Dr. Alberto Arca Parro
Ukrainian SSR	Delegate Advisers Experts	Mr. Anatoli Baranovsky Mr. Gregori D. Stadnak Mr. Levko I. Medved Mr. Konstantin Mr. L. Volokhov
USSR	Delegate Alternate Advisers Secretary	Mr. Nikolai I. Feonov Mr. Alexander P. Morozov Mr. Pavel M. Chernyshev Mr. Alexander P. Borisov Mr. Nicolai V. Orlov Mr. Valentin F. Tepliakov General P. F. Ratov Mr. Ivan E. Kamenev
United Kingdom	Delegate Alternate Advisers	The Rt. Hon. P. J. Noel-Baker, M.P. Mr. Hector McNeill, M.P. (from 7 June) Mr. J. M. Phillips Sir George Rendal K.C.M.G. Mr. F. A. Vallat Mr. J.E.O. Davidson, C.M.G., O.B.E. Mr. R. Miles Mr. S. Hampshire Mr. D.B. Pitblado Mr. J. M. Fleming Mr. G. North Mr. H. Townshend Mr. T.H. Weightman Mr. G. E. Yates Dr. M. Mackenzie Mr. H. G. Gee Sir Sydney Harris Mr. J.N. Wall Mr. B. Cockram Mr. P. H. Gore-Booth

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United Kingdom
(cont'd)

Private Secretary to Mr. Noel-Baker:

Mr. R. P. Heppel

Private Secretary to Mr. Hector McNeil:

Mr. J. V. Roab

Secretaries to the Delegation:

Mr. P. H. Gore-Booth

Mr. S. Hampshire

United States
of America

Delegate
Advisers

Mr. John G. Winant

Mr. Arthur J. Altmeyer

Mr. Charles S. Brannan

Mr. William A. Fowler

Mr. John W. Gibson

Mr. Louis K. Hyde, Jr.

Mr. Andrew Kamarck

Mr. Walter M. Kotschnig

Mr. Loyle A. Morrison

Mr. Otis K. Mulliken

Mr. Arthur Paul

Mrs. Edith Penrose

Mr. Ernest F. Penrose

Mr. Thurward V. Sandifer

Mr. Leroy D. Stinebower

Mr. Donald Stone

Mr. George L. Warren

Mr. George Thomas Washington

Assistants

Mr. Edward L. Cushman

Mr. Irving Hill

Mr. Peter Kasius

Mr. Walter C. Laves

Mr. Lewis Lorwin

Mr. James McCamy

Mr. Alvin S. Roseman

Mr. Robert B. Schwenger

Mr. Louis Sherman

Mr. Arthur Smithies

Miss Maurine Mulliner

Special Assistant to Mr. Winant

Yugoslavia

Delegate
Alternate
Advisers

Dr. Andrija Stampar

Mr. Stane Krasovec

Dr. Grahica Zarkovic

Mr. Leo Mates

Mr. Dusan Erkie

Mr. Veljko Korac

Mme. Krista Djordjevic

Dr. Mijo Mirkovic

Mr. Pavlo Lukin

The above information, while probably not complete, is based on official documents E/46, E/46/Rev 1 and US/E/6.

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APPENDIX III

Second Session of Economic and Social Council

Schedule of Meetings

Sat., May 25

A.M.

10:30 - Economic and Social Council (Opening plenary)

P.M.

2:30 - Committee on Negotiations with Specialized Agencies

Mon., May 27

A.M.

10:30 - Economic and Social Council (Plenary)

P.M.

2:30 - Economic and Social Council (Plenary)

Tues., May 28

A.M.

10:30 - Economic and Social Council (Plenary)

P.M.

2:15 - Committee on Negotiations with Specialized Agencies

3:00 - Committee on Negotiations with International Labor Organization

Wed., May 29

A.M.

10:30 - Committee on Negotiations with International Labor Organization

P.M.

2:30 - Committee on Negotiations with International Labor Organization

Fri., May 31

A.M.

10:30 - Economic and Social Council (Plenary)

P.M.

2:30 - Economic and Social Council (Plenary)

Sat.,

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Sat., June 1

A.M.

10:30 - Drafting Committee on Creation of Health Organization

P.M.

2:30 - Committee on Negotiations with Specialized Agencies

Mon., June 3

A.M.

10:30 - Committee on Negotiations with United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

P.M.

2:30 - Committee on Negotiations with United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Tues., June 4

A.M.

10:30 - Drafting Committee on Creation of Health Organization

P.M.

2:30 - Economic and Social Council (Plenary)

Wed., June 5

A.M.

10:30 - Economic and Social Council (Plenary)

P.M.

2:30 - Economic and Social Council (Plenary)

5:00 - Committee on Negotiations with Specialized Agencies

Thurs., June 6

A.M.

10:30 - Committee on Negotiations with Food and Agricultural Organization

P.M.

2:30 - Committee on Negotiations with Food and Agricultural Organization

6:30 - Drafting Committee on Reports of the Commissions in the Social Field
(Temporary Social Commission)

Fri., June 7

A.M.

10:30 - Economic and Social Council (Plenary)

10:30 - Drafting Committee on Reports of Commission in the Social Field

P.M.

P.M.

- 2:30 - Economic and Social Council (Plenary)
- 2:30 - Drafting Committee on Reports of Commission
in the Social Field

Sat., June 8

A.M.

- 10:30 - Drafting Committee on Health Committee Report

Mon., June 10

A.M.

- 10:30 - Drafting Committee on Reports of Commission
in the Social Field

P.M.

- 2:30 - Committee on Arrangements for Consultation with
Non-Governmental Organizations

Tues., June 11

A.M.

- 9:30 - Drafting Committee on Reports of the Commission
in the Social Field
- 10:30 - Economic and Social Council (Plenary)

P.M.

- 2:30 - Drafting Committee on Reports of Commission
in the Social Field

Wed., June 12

A.M.

- 10:30 - Drafting Committee on Reports of Commission
in the Social Field

P.M.

- 2:30 - Drafting Committee on Reports of Commission
in the Social Field

Thurs., June 13

A.M.

- 10:30 - Drafting Committee on Reports of Commission
in the Social Field

P.M.

- 2:30 - Economic and Social Field (Plenary)

Fri., June 14

A.M.

- 10:30 - Drafting Committee on Reports of Commission

in the

in the Economic Field

- P.M.
2:30 - Drafting Committee on Reports of Commission
in the Economic Field
8:30 - Drafting Committee on Reports of Commission
in the Social Field

Sat., June 15

- A.M.
10:30 - Committee of the Whole on Refugees

- P.M.
2:30 - Committee of the Whole on Refugees

Mon., June 17

- A.M.
10:30 - Drafting Committee on Reports of Commission
in the Economic Field

- P.M.
2:30 - Joint Committee on Composition of Commissions
8:30 - Committee on Arrangements for Consultation
with Non-Governmental Organizations

Tues., June 18

- A.M.
10:30 - Committee of the Whole on Refugees

- P.M.
2:30 - Committee of the Whole on Refugees

Wed., June 19

- A.M.
10:30 - Committee of the Whole on Refugees

- P.M.
2:30 - Committee of the Whole on Refugees

Thurs., June 20

- A.M.
10:30 - Committee of the Whole on Refugees

- P.M.
2:30 - Joint Committee on Composition of Commissions

Fri., June 21

- A.M.
10:30 - Economic and Social Council (Plenary)

- P.M.
2:30 - Economic and Social Council (Closing Plenary)

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DOCUMENTS ISSUED BY THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

1. First Session

- E/2 Resolution on the Calling of an International Health Conference. Delegation of China
- E/3 Delegation of Czechoslovakia. Memorandum on the Improvement of the Transport Conditions in Central Europe as a Means of Speeding up its Economic and Social Reconstruction
- E/4 Delegation of the United States. Resolution Regarding an International Conference on Trade and Employment
- E/5 Member for Colombia. Amendment to the United States Resolution regarding an International Conference on Trade and Employment.
- E/6 Letter from the Delegation of Ecuador to the President of the Economic and Social Council
- E/7 Communications of Interest to the Economic and Social Council Received from Non-Governmental Organizations
- E/9/rev.1 Resolution on the Calling of an International Health Conference
- E/10 Report of the Subcommittee on the Request of the Delegation of Ecuador (Document E/6)
- E/12 Committee on Rules of Procedure. Report to the Economic and Social Council
- E/14/rev.1 Organization of the Secretariat. Resolution of the Economic and Social Council of Feb. 16, 1946, on the Organization of the Secretariat
- E/15 Representative of the United States of America. Special Committee on Refugees and Displaced Persons
- E/15/rev.1 Committee on Refugees and Displaced Persons. Resolution Adopted by the Council
- E/16 Representative of the United Kingdom. Proposal Concerning the Terms of Reference of the Economic and Employment Commission in Connection with the Resolution Regarding the Trade Conference

E/17/rev.1

- E/17/rev.1 Committee on Negotiations with Inter-Governmental Agencies
- E/18 Representative of the United States of America. Temporary Transport and Communications Commission
- E/19 Non-Political Functions and Activities of the League of Nations (Draft Submitted by the Secretariat)
- E/20 Report of the Committee on the Organization of the Economic and Social Council
- E/22/rev.1 Resolution on the Calling of an International Conference on Trade and Employment
- E/24/rev.1 Arrangements Committee for Consultations with Non-Governmental Organizations. Resolution adopted by the Council
- E/25 Report of the Drafting Subcommittee on the Terms of Reference of the Temporary Transport and Communications Commission
- E/26 Report of the Subcommittee on the Composition of the Commissions
- E/27 Commission on Human Rights and Subcommittee on the Status of Women
- E/28 Economic and Employment Commission
- E/29 Temporary Social Commission
- E/30 Statistical Commission
- E/31 Temporary Transport and Communications Commission
- E/32 Fourteenth Meeting (Private) of Economic and Social Council, held on February 18, 1946. Report of the Subcommittee on the Composition of the Commissions. (Document E/26)
- E/33 Rules of Procedure for Economic and Social Council
- E/34 Commission on Narcotic Drugs

E/35 Note on Employment Policy by Dr. J. Tinbergen, Submitted to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations by the Netherlands Delegation to the General Assembly

E/36 Cumulative List of Documents issued by the Economic and Social Council from January 28 to February 27, 1946

2. Second Session

E/37 Provisional Agenda for the Second Session of the Economic and Social Council, May 16, 1946

E/38/rev.1 Report of the Commission Human Rights to the Second Session of the Economic and Social Council

E/39 Report of the Statistical Commission to the Economic and Social Council. First Session, 1-15, May 1946

E/40 First Report of the Economic and Employment Commission Submitted to the Economic and Social Council. May 25, 1946

E/41 Report of the Temporary Social Commission. May 21, 1946

E/41/add.1 Addendum 1 to the Report of the Temporary Social Commission. May 25, 1946

E/41/corr.1 Corrigendum to the Report of the Temporary Social Commission. May 27, 1946

E/42 First Report of the Temporary Transport and Communications Commission Submitted to the Economic and Social Council, May 25, 1946 (Dated May 20, 1946)

E/42/add.1 Addendum to the First Report Submitted to the Economic and Social Council for the Temporary Transport and Communications Commission

E/42/corr. Corrigendum to the First Report of the Temporary Transport and Communications Commission

E/43 Report of the Committee on Arrangements for Consultation with Non-Governmental Organizations: May 23, 1946

E/43/rev.1 Revised Report of the Committee on Arrangements for Consultation with Non-Governmental Organizations

E/43/rev.2 Report of the Committee on Arrangements for Consultation with Non-Governmental Organizations (Approved by the Council, June 21, 1946, dated July 1, 1946)

E/48/rev.1 Draft Agreement between the United Nations and the International Labour Organization. May 30, 1946

E/49 Questions Relating to Certain International Loans Issued under the Auspices of the League of Nations (Paper submitted by the United Kingdom Delegation in Connection with Item 14 of the Agenda) May 31, 1946

E/50 Communications From the World Federation of Trade Unions (Excerpt from Letter Dated May 27, 1946 from Sidney Hillman to the President of the Economic and Social Council) June 1, 1946

E/51 Rules of Procedure (Note by the President) June 1, 1946

E/53 Draft Agreement between the United Nations and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) June 5, 1946

E/54 Proposal Submitted by the Representative of Colombia Concerning the Establishment of a Fiscal Commission. June 4, 1946

E/54/corr.1 Corrigendum to Proposal Submitted by the Representative of Colombia Concerning the Establishment of a Fiscal Commission. June 4, 1946

E/55 Letter from Mr. Sidney Hillman, dated June 4, 1946 to the President of the Economic and Social Council concerning the World Federation of Trade Unions. June 6, 1946

E/55/corr.1

- E/55/corr.1 Corrigendum to the Letter from Mr. Sidney Hillman, Dated June 4, 1946, to the President of the Economic and Social Council Concerning the World Federation of Trade Unions. June 7, 1946
- E/56/rev.2 Commission on Human Rights. Resolution Adopted June 21, 1946. July 1, 1946
- E/57 Draft Agreement between the United Nations and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. June 10, 1946
- E/58/rev.2 Temporary Transport and Communications Commission. Resolution adopted June 21, 1946. July 1, 1946
- E/59/rev.1 Report of the Drafting Committee of the International Health Committee Approved by the Council and Resolution adopted June 11, 1946
- E/60 Communication from the Chairman of the Special Meeting on Urgent Food Problems. June 12, 1946
- E/62 United States Delegation to the United Nations. Draft Resolution for Establishment of Committees on Co-ordination. June 13, 1946
- E/63 Draft Resolution of the Economic and Social Council on the Economic and Employment Commission (Working Draft Prepared by the Secretariat on the Basis of the Report of the Commission)
- E/64 United States Delegation to the United Nations. Resolution on Refugees and Displaced Persons. June 13, 1946
- E/65 Report of the Committee on Negotiations with Specialized Agencies of the Economic and Social Council. June 13, 1946
- E/66 Draft Resolution of the Economic and Social Council. Temporary Sub-Commission on the Economic Reconstruction of Devastated Areas (Working Draft Prepared by the Secretariat on the Basis of the Report of the Economic and Employment Commission) June 13, 1946

E/66/rev.1

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- E/66/rev.1 Draft Resolution Concerning the Temporary Sub-Commission on the Economic Reconstruction of Devastated Areas (Submitted by the Drafting Committee on Reports of Commissions in the Economic Field) June 20, 1946
- E/66/rev.2 Temporary Sub-Commission on the Economic Reconstruction of Devastated Areas (Resolution Adopted June 21, 1946) July 1, 1946
- E/68 United States Delegation to the United Nations. Certain Proposed Additions to Chapter III of E/REF/75 June 14, 1946
- E/69 United States Delegation to the United Nations. Proposals Concerning Suggestions for a Draft Constitution of an International Refugees Organization. (Chapter IV, E/REF/75) June 15, 1946
- E/70 Resolution Proposed by the Delegation of the Federal Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia. June 15, 1946
- E/71 Observations by Dr. Ramier Guerra Sanchez, Delegate for Cuba, on the Report of the Temporary Transport and Communications Commission (E/42, 20 May 1946) June 19, 1946
- E/72 United States Delegation to the United Nations. Proposed Resolution on the Food and Agriculture Organization. June 17, 1946
- E/73 Summary Record of the First Meeting of the Committee on the Whole On Refugees and Displaced Persons. Held on Saturday June 15, 1946. Dated June 17, 1946
- E/74 Summary Record of the Second Meeting of the Committee of the Whole on Refugees and Displaced Persons. Held on Saturday June 15, 1946. Dated June 17, 1946
- E/76 Resolution of the Statistical Commission Adopted June 21, 1946. July 1, 1946
- E/77 United States Delegation to the United Nations. Draft Resolution Regarding Consultative Relationships with the International Chamber of Commerce. June 19, 1946.

E/78

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- E/78 Temporary Social Commission. Resolution
Adopted June 21, 1946. July 1, 1946
- E/79 Summary Record of the Third Meeting of the
Committee of the Whole on Refugees and
Displaced Persons. June 18, 1946.
Dated June 19.
- E/80 Summary Record of the Fourth Meeting of the
Committee of the Whole on Refugees and Dis-
placed Persons. Held June 18, 1946.
Dated June 20, 1946.
- E/81/rev.1 Resolution Adopted June 21, 1946, on Refugees
and Displaced Persons. July 1, 1946.
- E/82/rev.1 Economic and Employment Commission Resolution
Adopted June 21, 1946. July 1, 1946
- E/83/rev.1 Interim Measures Concerning Refugees and
Displaced Persons. Resolution Adopted June 21,
1946. July 1, 1946.
- E/84/rev.1 Composition of the Commissions. Resolutions
Adopted June 21, 1946. July 1, 1946.
- E/85 Resolution Proposed by the Greek Delegation
to the Committee of the Whole on Refugees
and Displaced Persons. June 21, 1946.
- E/86 Summary Record of the Fifth Meeting of the Com-
mittee of the Whole on Refugees and Displaced
Persons. Held June 19, 1946. June 21, 1946.
- E/87 Summary Record of the Sixth Meeting of the Com-
mittee of the Whole on Refugees and Displaced
Persons. Held June 19, 1946. June 28, 1946.
- E/88 Summary Record of the Seventh Meeting of the
Committee of the Whole on Refugees and Displaced
Persons. Held June 20, 1946. June 27.
- E/89 Summary Record of the Eighth Meeting of the Com-
mittee of the Whole on Refugees and Displaced
Persons. Held June 20, 1946. June 27.
- E/90 Commission on the Status of Women. Resolution
Adopted June 21, 1946. (The Text of this Reso-
lution was taken from the Resolution on the
Report of the Commission on Human Rights,
Doc. E/56/rev.1 paragraph 8) July 1, 1946

E/91

B E 12

- E/91 Draft Agreements with Specialized Agencies.
Resolution Adopted June 21, 1946. July 1, 1946.
- E/92 Draft Constitution for the International
Refugee Organization. (This text has been
prepared by the Secretariat in accordance
with paragraph 1 of the Resolution of the
Economic and Social Council on June 21,
1946 (Doc. E/81/Rev.1) July 5, 1946
- E/93 United States Delegation. Proposal for the
Establishment of a Population Committee.
July 5, 1946.

3. Other Pertinent Documents



- Journal No. 12. April 10, 1946 -
Contains Resolutions Adopted by the Council.
First Session. London. 1946
- Journal No. 29. July 13, 1946 - Contains
Resolutions Adopted by the Council. Second
Session. New York. 1946
- E/H/1 Report of the Technical Preparatory Committee
for the International Health Conference.
Paris. March 18 to April 5, 1946.
- E/H/9 Summary Record of Meetings of the Technical
Preparatory Committee for the International
Health Conference (Held in Paris from
March 18 to April 5, 1946) June 28, 1946.
- E/Ref/75 Report of the Special Committee on Refugees
and Displaced Persons. London. April 8 -
June 1, 1946

B F 16

1361 DM

7

November 2, 1946

85-Q

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT



**Subject: Recommendation of United States Members
on Commissions of the Economic and Social
Council of the United Nations.**

I am submitting, for your approval, the names of eight candidates to serve as United States Members of the following-named Commissions of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations to which the United States was elected to Membership, for specified terms, at the Third Session of the Economic and Social Council which convened at New York City, September 11 to October 3, 1946:

x 280
x w e
Isador Lubin: Member of the Economic and Employment
Commission for a term of four years. x w e x 85-Q Economic and Employment Commission

x w e
Edward F. Bartelt: Member of the Fiscal Commission
for a term of two years. x w e x 85-Q Fiscal Commission

x 280
x w e
Anna Eleanor Roosevelt: Member of the Human Rights
Commission for a term of four years. x w e x 85-Q Human Rights Commission

x w e
Philip M. Hauser: Member of the Population Commission
for a term of two years. x w e x 85-Q Population Commission

x w e
Stuart A. Rice: Member of the Statistical Commission
for a term of two years. x w e x 85-Q Statistical Commission

x w e
Dorothy Kenyon: Member of the Commission on Status of
Women for a term of three years. x w e x 85-Q Commission on Status of Women

Arthur J.

B-File

Arthur J. Altmeyer: Member of the Social Commission for
a term of two years. x 85.9 Social Comm

George P. Baker: Member of the Transport and Communi-
cations Commission for a term of four
years. x 85.9 Transport & Comm

It is my understanding that these candidates, if approved, will receive recess appointments pending confirmation by the Senate.

Biographic sketches of those persons with whom you may not be well acquainted accompany this memorandum.



DEAN ACHESON
Acting Secretary

x 20

Enclosures:

Five biographic sketches.

Approved Nov 2, 1946

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Rec'd to Room 2-11 State 11/6/46

B-File

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NOVEMBER 1946.

The President has appointed the following as the United States members of various commissions of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations:



*filed 578-A Transp
are comm folder*

The President has designated Mr. Paul T. David as United States Representative on the Air Transport Committee of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization. Mr. David will serve under the general direction of Major General Laurence S. Kuter, United States Representative on the Interim Council of PICAQ.

B File

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NOVEMBER 6, 1946

The President has appointed the following as the United States members of various commissions of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations:

Isador Lubin: Member of the Economic and Employment Commission for a term of four years.

Edward F. Bartelt: Member of the Fiscal Commission for a term of two years.

Anna Eleanor Roosevelt: Member of the Human Rights Commission for a term of four years.



Philip K. Hauser: Member of the Population Commission for a term of two years.

Stuart A. Rice: Member of the Statistical Commission for a term of two years.

Dorothy Kenyon: Member of the Commission on Status of Women for a term of three years.

Arthur J. Altmeyer: Member of the Social Commission for a term of two years.

George F. Baker: Member of the Transport and Communications Commission for a term of four years.

- - -

B-116

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE UNITED STATES NOMINEE
FOR THE FISCAL COMMITTEE

Edward F. Bartelt



B. Quincy, Ill., June 17, 1895; s. G. Henry and Emily (Goessling) B.; educated pub. schs. of Quincy, Gen City Business College, Master of Accounts, Pace Institute; m. Mildred Smith, June 5, 1917; children - Betty, Ruth, John; Instructor in book-keeping and banking, Gen City Business College; Treasury Department, detailed to Office of the Auditor of the Navy, 1917; Chief Division of Bookkeeping and Warrants, 1927; Ass't Commissioner of Accounts, 1931; Commissioner of Accounts, 1935; Fiscal Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, March 16, 1945; Head of Interdepartmental War Savings Bond Committee, 1942; Author: Accounting Procedures of the United States Government; Club: Columbia Country. Home: 3017 Stephenson Place, N.W. Office: Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.

B. F. Bartelt

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE UNITED STATES NOMINEE
FOR THE COMMISSION ON POPULATION

Philip Morris Hauser



Sociology. Chicago, Illinois, September 27, 1909. PhB, Chicago, 1929; A.M., 1933; PhD, 1938. Instructor Sociology, Chicago, 1932-38; Director Study of Differential Fertility and Mortality in Chicago; Soc. Science Research Committee, 1934-35; Assistant Chief Statistician for Population, Bureau of Census, 1938—; Chairman, Sociology and Anthropology Department, Central Y.M.C.A. Col., 1932-35; Chief, Labor Inventory Section, Works Progress Administration, 1935-37; Assistant Chief Statistician, National Unemployment Census, 1937-38; Lecturer, American University (D.C.), 1941—; Graduate School, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1942—; Assistant Director, Studies of Social Aspects of Depression, Social Science Research Council, 1937. Sociology Soc. (Chairman, Section Social Statistics, 1941); Statis. Assn; Population Assn. (Cmt. uniform Ser. Terminal, 1941). Population and Housing; Workers on Relief in the United States; movies, Delinquency and Crime; Studies of the 1940 Population Census Returns. Assistant Director of Census, 1942—. Director, Office of Program Planning, Department of Commerce, 1945—. Address: Bureau of the Census, 2nd and D Streets S.W., Washington, D.C.

B. File

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE UNITED STATES NOMINEE
FOR THE STATISTICAL COMMISSION

Stuart Arthur Rice



Sociologist, statistician; b. Wadena, Minn., Nov. 21, 1889; s. Edward Myron and Ida Eselin (Hicks) R.; A.B., U. of Wash., 1912; A.M., 1915; Ph.D., Columbia U., 1924; m. Chineta Williamson, 1914; m. 2d, Sarah Alice Mayfield, May 29, 1934; 1 son, Stuart Arthur. Sec. Industrial Welfare Comm., Wash., 1913; confidential insp. Dept. of Pub. Charities, New York, 1914-15; supt. New York Municipal Lodging House, 1916-17; field rep. War Camp Community Service, 1918; adnl. dir. N.W. Div. Am. Red Cross, 1919-20; instr. and asst. prof. sociology, Dartmouth, 1923-26; prof. sociology, later prof. sociology and statistics, U. of Pa., 1926-40; research sec. for social statistics, Social Science Research Council, 1931-32; visiting prof. sociology, U. of Chicago, 1932-33; acting chmn. Com. on Govt. Statistics and Information Services, 1933; asst. dir. of the Census, 1933-36; 1st v. chmn., 1933-35, actg. chmn., 1935-36, chmn., 1936-40, Central Statistical Board; asst. dir. of the Budget in charge of statistical standards, Exec. Office of the President, since July 1940; spl. investigator of social statistics, President's Research Com. on Social Trends, 1931-32. Mem. Internat. Statis. Inst. (chmn. arrangements committee, 25th Biennial Session), Inter-American Statistical Institute (chmn. organizing committee and 1st v.p. since 1941); Am. Assn. for Labor Legislation, Am. Sociol. Soc., Am. Statis. Assn. (pres. 1933), Am. Econ. Assn.; mem. Am. Council of Learned Socs., 1928-32, Social Science Research Council, 1937-42; fellow A.A.A.S. (v.p. 1937). Mem. organizing com. and chmn. statistics sect. 8th Am. Scientific Congress, Washington, 1940; Representative Temporary Statistical Commission, United Nations Economic and Social Council, 1946. Author: Farmers and Workers in American Politics, 1924; Quantitative Methods in Politics, 1928; Communication Agencies and Social Life (with M.M. Willey), 1933; Next Steps in the Development of Social Statistics, 1933. Editor: Statistics in Social Studies, 1930; Methods in Social Science, 1931; Social Statistics in the United States, 1933. Home: 2863 Beechwood Circle, Arlington, Va. Office: Bureau of the Budget, Washington, D.C.

B-116

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE UNITED STATES NOMINEE
FOR THE COMMISSION ON STATUS OF WOMEN

Dorothy Kenyon



Lawyer; b. New York, N.Y., Feb. 17, 1888; d. William Houston and Maria Wellington (Stanwood) Kenyon; A.B., Smith Coll., 1908; J.D., New York U., 1917; LL.D., Kenka Coll., 1939; unmarried. Admitted to N.Y. bar, 1917, and in gen. practice of law, New York, 1919-39; mem. Straus and Kenyon, 1930-39; justice Municipal Court, City of New York, 1939-40; resumed gen. practice, 1940; 1st dep. commr. of licenses, City of New York, 1936-38. Mem. League of Nations Com. on Legal Status of Women since 1938; mem. exec. com. Citizens Union of N.Y.; mem. Womanpower Commn. apptd. by N.Y. State Indel. Commr. to advise on wartime employment problems of women; nat. dir. Am. Civil Liberties Union; dir. Consumers League of N.Y., Pioneer Youth of America, Assn. for Aid of Crippled Children; v.p. Consumers Coop. Services, Inc.; mem. com. to draft model state law on consumer co-operative corp., 1937; pres. Our Cooperative House, 433 W. 21st St., Inc.; v.p. Alumnae Assn. Smith Coll. Mem. American Bar Assn., New York City Bar Assn., New York Country Lawyers Assn., N.Y. State Bar Assn., Am. Soc. Internat. Law, Am. Association Univ. Women (advisor com. on legal status of women), League of Women Voters, Phi Beta Kappa (Senator United Chapter). Clubs: Cosmopolitan, Smith Coll., Women's University (dir.), Women's City (dir.), all New York. Home: 433 W. 21st St., New York, N.Y.

B File

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE UNITED STATES NOMINEE
FOR THE COMMISSION ON TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

George Pierce Baker



B. Cambridge, Mass., Nov. 1, 1903; s. George Pierce and Christina (Hopkinson) B.; A.B. Harvard University, 1925, A.M., 1930, Ph.D., 1934; m. Ruth P. Bremer, Sept. 4, 1926; children—George Pierce, Sarah Bremer, Ruth, Elizabeth. With Boston-Maine R.R., in passenger traffic department, 1920; with Scudder, Stevens & Clark, investments, Boston, 1925-27; dir. of publicity Harvard Athletic Assn., 1927; instr. in economics and tutor in div. of history, govt. and economics, Harvard, 1928-36, asst. prof. of transportation, 1936-39, associate prof. since 1939 (on leave since 1940); transportation consultant Pa. R.R., N.Y. Central R.R. and C., B. and O. R.R., 1939; apptd. mem. Civil Aeronautics Bd., Aug. 1940, vice-chmn., Jan. 1942, resigned Sept. 1942 to become chief of requirements division Office of Quartermaster Gen., War Dept.; commissioned lieutenant colonel, U.S. Army, Nov. 23, 1942; Colonel, Nov. 25, 1943; Director, Office of Transport and Communications, Department of State, August 27, 1945-June 30, 1946; Representative, Temporary Transport and Communications Commission, United Nations Economic and Social Council, 1946; Professor, Harvard School of Business Administration, 1946—. Member American Economic Assn., Institute Aeronautical Sciences, Newcomen Society, Railway and Locomotive History Society, American Association Railroad Supts., National Aeronautic Assn. Clubs; Harvard (N.Y. City); Harvard (Boston, Mass.); also Chevy Chase Club (Washington, D.C.). Author: The Formation of the New England Railroad Systems, 1937. Contrb. to professional jour. Address: Harvard School of Business Administration, Cambridge, Mass.

B. E. H.

85-2

January 2, 1947

Dear Mr. Winant:

I have read carefully your letter of December nineteenth and note the considerations which prompt your desire to relinquish work as United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council. The work of organization and coordination in which you assisted being almost completed, I feel that in justice to you I should comply with your request. Accordingly, I accept your resignation effective at the close of business on January 10, 1947.

I regret to have you leave the service of the Government. For almost a decade you have served with distinction in various posts of responsibility both at home and abroad and by that service have earned the right to return to private pursuits. I am sure that both Secretary Clayton and Senator Austin will regret, as I do, the loss of your invaluable counsel and cooperation.

With best wishes for your continued health and happiness,

Very sincerely yours,



(Sgd) HARRY S. TRUMAN

Honorable John G. Winant, x pp7-2298
c/o Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

B. L. 111
Mailed
7/11/47
BK

*Mr Miller note & file
 of State made com send
 copy for their files*



*Mr Latta: Mr Miller
 have your hand
 done & sent
 to him to
 make
 meet*

*This came to me in
 your envelope. Has it
 been to Mr. Miller?*

BB



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SECRETARY

December 23, 1946

Mr. Connelly:

Attached is a suggested
 reply for the President to
 Mr. Winant's letter of resignation.

*Please telephone my
 office when you release*

J. F. B.



B F 13

DRAFT LETTER FOR THE PRESIDENT'S SIGNATURE

Dear Mr. Winant:

I have your letter of December 19 tendering your resignation as the United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council. With regret I accept it.

When you tell me that the organization of the Council has been developed to the extent that you feel free to resign, I cannot decline your request, much as I regret to have you leave the service of the Government.

You have served the Government, both at home and abroad, for a number of years, and I can understand your desire to return to private life, and to devote all of your efforts to the writing you began some time ago.

Assuring you of my best wishes for your continued success and happiness, I am

Sincerely yours

The Honorable
John C. Winant
c/o Department of State
Washington, D. C.

B. File

UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

220 WEST 57TH STREET
New York 19, N. Y.
CIRCLE 6-4400

December 19, 1946



Dear Mr. President:

At the time of the first assembly meeting in London in January 1946 when I was serving as Ambassador to Great Britain, you asked me if I would also represent the United States at the preliminary meeting of the Economic and Social Council. I did this and when I resigned from the London post, you and Mr. Byrnes asked me to continue as the United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council.

We have completed the third meeting of the Council and the recommendations made by it to the second General Assembly were, in large measure, adopted by the Assembly at its session which closed last week. The organization of the Council has been established, the coordination of the Council with the Specialized Agencies is almost completed and Commissions have been created in the major economic and social fields, appointments to them filled and confirmed, and the Commissions are now functioning.

It was my hope to continue with the Council until this work had been accomplished. I would therefore now respectfully request that you accept my resignation. It is nearly ten years ago that I accepted service in the foreign field and I would like to be free to pick up life again as a private citizen in my own country.

B. File

The President

-2-

Dec. 19, 1946

I deeply appreciate the courtesies which you and Secretary Byrnes have shown me. It has been a privilege to collaborate with the Under Secretary, Mr. William Clayton, who has had direct charge in the State Department of the economic and social program advanced by the United States Delegation in the Economic and Social Council. Other departments have greatly contributed to the success of our joint efforts.

I would also like to say that it is a matter of genuine regret that this decision will mean that I will not have the opportunity to continue to work with Senator Austin who is both a neighbor and a friend.

Thank you for making it possible for me to take part in the work of the United Nations which has been so well begun and which holds such promise for the future of mankind.



Sincerely,

John Gilbert Winant

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

B. F. H.

January 6, 1947

Respectfully referred for the files
of the Department of State.



M. C. LATTA
Executive Clerk

Transmitting copy of letter which the President received from Honorable John G. Winant, 12/19/46 stating his desire to relinquish work as United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations; together with a copy of the President's letter 1/2/47, to Mr. Winant, accepting the resignation effective at the close of business on January 10, 1947.

bk

B FILE

JANUARY 2, 1947

The President has today sent the following letter to the Honorable John G. Winant accepting his resignation as a Representative of the United States in the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations:

"January 2, 1947

Dear Mr. Winant:

I have read carefully your letter of December nineteenth and note the considerations which prompt your desire to relinquish work as United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council. The work of organization and coordination in which you assisted being almost completed, I feel that in justice to you I should comply with your request. Accordingly, I accept your resignation effective at the close of business on January 10, 1947.

I regret to have you leave the service of the Government. For almost a decade you have served with distinction in various posts of responsibility both at home and abroad and by that service have earned the right to return to private pursuits. I am sure that both Secretary Clayton and Senator Austin will regret, as I do, the loss of your invaluable counsel and cooperation.

With best wishes for your continued health and happiness,

Very sincerely yours,



HARRY S. TRUMAN

Mr. Winant's letter to the President follows:

"December 19, 1946

Dear Mr. President:

At the time of the first assembly meeting in London in January 1946 when I was serving as Ambassador to Great Britain, you asked me if I would also represent the United States at the preliminary meeting of the Economic and Social Council. I did this and when I resigned from the London post, you and Mr. Byrnes asked me to continue as the United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council.

We have completed the third meeting of the Council and the recommendations made by it to the second General Assembly were, in large measure, adopted by the Assembly at its session which closed last week. The organization of the Council has been established, the coordination of the Council with the Specialized Agencies is almost completed and Commissions have been created in the major economic and social fields, appointments to them filled and confirmed, and the Commissions are now functioning.

It was my hope to continue with the Council until this work had been accomplished. I would therefore now respectfully request that you accept my resignation. It is nearly ten years ago that I accepted service in the foreign field and I would like to be free to pick up life again as a private citizen in my own country.

I deeply appreciate the courtesies which you and Secretary Byrnes have shown me. It has been a privilege to collaborate with the Under Secretary, Mr. William Clayton, who has had direct charge in the State Department of the economic and social program advanced by the United States Delegation in the Economic and Social Council. Other departments have greatly contributed to the success of our joint efforts.

D-1516

- 2 -

I would also like to say that it is a matter of genuine regret that this decision will mean that I will not have the opportunity to continue to work with Senator Austin who is both a neighbor and a friend.

Thank you for making it possible for me to take part in the work of the United Nations which has been so well begun and which holds such promise for the future of mankind.

Sincerely,



JOHN GILBERT WINANT"

B E 10

85-Q

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 27, 1947



MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Nomination of Francis Biddle as the
Representative of the United States
of America in the Economic and Social
Council of the United Nations.

x662
xH.C.

x871751

There is transmitted herewith the nomination of Francis Biddle, of Pennsylvania, as the Representative of the United States of America in the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

This nomination is in accordance with Section 2 (d) of Public Law 264, and for your convenience in considering it there is enclosed a biographical sketch of Mr. Biddle.

Letters to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and to the appropriate Senators have been prepared and will be forwarded upon submission of the nomination to the Senate.

Enclosures:

1. Nomination.
2. Biographical sketch.

[Signature]
x20

B

File

Biographical Sketch

FRANCIS BIDDLE; lawyer, former attorney general of the United States; born in Paris, France, May 9, 1856; son of Algernon Sydney and Frances (Robinson) Biddle; brought to America in infancy; student Haverford (Pa.) School, 1895-99, Groton (Mass.) School, 1899-1905; B.A., cum laude, Harvard, 1909, LL.B., cum laude, 1911; LL.D., LaSalle College, Boston University, 1942; Drexel Institute, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, 1943; married Katherine Garrison Chapin, April 27, 1918; children - Edmund Randolph, Garrison Chapin (dec.). Admitted to Pennsylvania Bar, 1912; private secretary to Justice Holmes, U.S. Supreme Court, 1911-1912; associate Biddle, Paul & Jaynes, Philadelphia, 1912-15; Barnes, Biddle & Myers, Phila. 1917-39; special assistant U.S. Attorney, Eastern District, Pennsylvania, 1922-26; Class C director Federal Reserve Bank, 1938-39, deputy chairman, 1938-39; chief counsel Joint Commission to investigate Tennessee Valley Authority, 1938-39; judge U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, 3d Circuit, 1939-40; solicitor general of U.S., 1940; attorney general of U.S., September 1941 - June 30, 1945. Admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States, 1927. Served in U.S. Army, October 23 - November 29, 1918. Chairman Philadelphia Branch Foreign Policy Association, 1924-39; chairman National Labor Relations Board, 1934-35; member Governor Pinchot's Commission on Special Policing in Industry, 1934; member Philadelphia County Board of Law Examiners, 1923-32; member board of Public Education, Philadelphia, 1936-39; director Philadelphia Contributionship for Ins. of Houses for Loss by Fire; trustee Twentieth Century Fund (N.Y.). Democrat. Clubs: Philadelphia, Legal, Franklin Inn (Phila.); Coffee House (N.Y. City). Author: Llanfear Pattern, 1927; Mr. Justice Holmes, 1942; Democratic Thinking and the War, 1944. Contbr. to legal publs. Home: 1669 31st Street N.W., Washington 7, D.C.

B File

77/17/47

85-Q

July 12, 1947

Dear Francis:

Your letter of June thirtieth leaves me no option but to accede to your request that your nomination as American representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations be withdrawn. Accordingly, I am withdrawing your name from the Senate today.

I take this action with great reluctance, and only because of your request. It is, as you say, imperative that the United States be represented in the forthcoming meeting of the Economic and Social Council.

I need not tell you that my withdrawal of your name, in the circumstances described in your letter, indicates no lessening of my belief that you are highly qualified for the position in question.

With my cordial regards and continued deep appreciation of your past services to our country, I am

Very sincerely yours,



(R66) 17/17/47

*
The Honorable Francis Biddle, xpp71751
1669 - 31st Street, N. W., x 662
Washington, D. C.

cgr:mb

B File

June 30, 1947

Dear Mr. President:

Last January you nominated me to be the American representative of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, to succeed John G. Winant. The nomination was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, of which Senator Vandenberg is chairman. I appeared before that Committee in executive hearing in May, and answered in some detail questions that were put to me by the members. There have been no other hearings. It would appear that Senator Vandenberg has no intention of allowing my name to go to the Senate to be voted on for confirmation or rejection. I believe that no action will be taken by the Committee before Congress adjourns, presumably in about a month.

I am therefore asking you to withdraw my name from the Senate.

I do this for only one reason. I would prefer that the nomination be acted on by the Senate one way or the other. There has been no action on my nomination for five months. Meanwhile the Economic and Social Council met in March, and will again meet on July 19.

I am devoted to the principles of the United Nations, and want above all else to see them realized. If my name is not withdrawn the United States for the second time will not be represented by a member on the Council, which is now engaged in studying the economic needs of Europe. Particularly in view of the meeting of the foreign ministers in Paris, and the importance of having the Council function fully in the economic crisis, it is imperative that our country be represented.

For that reason alone I ask that you immediately withdraw my name from further consideration. You have previously told me that you would not do so except at my request. I am now making that request.

I am, as you know, deeply grateful for the evidence of your faith in me, which was shown by the nomination, and by your unfailing support after opposition developed.

With warm personal regards, believe me sincerely and respectfully yours,



Frank Biddle

The President

The White House
Washington
D.C.

B. F. E.

July 14, 1947

Respectfully referred for the files
of the Department of State.

M. C. LATTA
Executive Clerk



Transmitting copy of letter, 6/30/47, which the President received from Honorable Francis Biddle, requesting the President to withdraw his name from the Senate - to be the Representative of the United States of America in the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations); together with a copy of the President's letter 7/12/47, acceding to the request. The nomination was withdrawn 7/12/47.

bk

*United
States
B*

B E 12

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

JULY 12, 1947

The President has today sent the following letter to the Honorable Francis Biddle:

"July 12, 1947

Dear Francis:

Your letter of June thirtieth leaves me no option but to accede to your request that your nomination as American representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations be withdrawn. Accordingly, I am withdrawing your name from the Senate today.

I take this action with great reluctance, and only because of your request. It is, as you say, imperative that the United States be represented in the forthcoming meeting of the Economic and Social Council.

I need not tell you that my withdrawal of your name, in the circumstances described in your letter, indicates no lessening of my belief that you are highly qualified for the position in question.

With my cordial regards and continued deep appreciation of your past services to our country, I am



Very sincerely yours,

/s/ HARRY S. TRUMAN"

Mr. Biddle's letter to the President follows:

"June 30, 1947

Dear Mr. President:

Last January you nominated me to be the American representative of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, to succeed John G. Winant. The nomination was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, of which Senator Vandenberg is chairman. I appeared before that Committee in executive hearing in May, and answered in some detail questions that were put to me by the members. There have been no other hearings. It would appear that Senator Vandenberg has no intention of allowing my name to go to the Senate to be voted on for confirmation or rejection. I believe that no action will be taken by the Committee before Congress adjourns, presumably in about a month.

I am therefore asking you to withdraw my name from the Senate.

I do this for only one reason. I would prefer that the nomination be acted on by the Senate one way or the other. There has been no action on my nomination for five months. Meanwhile the Economic and Social Council met in March, and will again meet on July nineteenth.

I am devoted to the principles of the United Nations, and want above all else to see them realized. If my name is not withdrawn the United States for the second time will not be represented by a member on the Council, which is now engaged in studying the economic needs of Europe. Particularly in view of the meeting of the foreign ministers in Paris, and the importance of having the Council function fully in the economic crisis, it is imperative that our country be represented.

For that reason alone I ask that you immediately withdraw my name from further consideration. You have previously told me that you would not do so except at my request. I am now making that request.

B. File

- 2 -

I am, as you know, deeply grateful for the evidence of your faith in me, which was shown by the nomination, and by your unfailing support after opposition developed.

With warm personal regards, believe me sincerely and respectfully yours,



/s/ FRANCIS BIDDLE¹¹

B

5143

85-Q

February 28, 1947

My dear Mr. Stinebower:

I take pleasure in designating you to act, without additional compensation, as the representative of the United States in the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations at the meetings of the Council during its session beginning February 28, 1947, pending the qualification of the regular representative. #

Very sincerely yours,



(Sgd) HARRY S. TRUMAN

Mr. Leroy D. Stinebower, *x.v.c.*
Special Assistant to the
Assistant Secretary for
Economic Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

*Original Agt 5
sent to file
2/28/47*

B

*Filed
4/2/47*

My dear Mr. Stinebower:

I take pleasure in designating you to act, without additional compensation, as the representative of the United States in the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations at the meetings of the Council during its session beginning February 28, 1947, pending the qualification of the regular representative.

Sincerely yours,



Mr. Leroy D. Stinebower,
Special Assistant to the
Assistant Secretary for
Economic Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

100-100000

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
THE SECRETARY

February 28, 1947

Mr. Latta:

The attached are the papers designating a U. S. Representative to the Economic and Social Council about which I spoke to you yesterday. The Council convened today, so there is urgency about a decision on the Representative. Will you call me when the President has approved, on extension 2598.

F. Kirlin
F. Kirlin



*Miss
207 Mann*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

February 28, 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Interim Designation of Mr. Leroy D. Stinebower
as United States Representative in Economic
and Social Council

The Fourth Session of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations convenes on February 28, 1947. Because the confirmation by the Senate of Mr. Biddle as United States representative in the Council has not yet been completed, there is not a United States representative in the Council for the beginning of the Council Session.

I am attaching a proposed letter for your signature designating Mr. Leroy D. Stinebower to act as the representative of the United States in the Council at its present session, pending the qualification of the regular representative. Mr. Stinebower is an officer of the Department who was appointed by you on July 19, 1946, as Deputy Representative of the United States in the Council.

Attachment

*Alan Robinson*

As stated above.

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June 19, 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Nomination of Isador Lubin as the United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations #



Since July 1947, Willard L. Thorp, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, has served concurrently as United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

In order that Mr. Thorp may be able to carry the increased responsibility incumbent upon him as Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, it is desirable that he relinquish his responsibilities as United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council. To prevent a vacancy in the latter position, and especially in view of the imminence of the Eleventh Session of the Economic and Social Council, which is scheduled to convene at Geneva, Switzerland, early in July, I recommend that Mr. Thorp's resignation be accepted to become effective upon the assumption of office by his successor. W. C.

As successor to Mr. Thorp, I am submitting for your approval and signature the nomination of Isador Lubin to be the United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. It is hoped that his name may be submitted to the Senate for confirmation at the earliest opportunity.

Since November 7, 1946, Mr. Lubin has been representing the United States on the Economic and Employment Commission of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and would continue to attend the sessions thereof as the United States Representative when appointed to the Council.

If you approve Mr. Lubin's appointment as the United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council it is recommended that he receive compensation at the rate of \$17,500 per

annum,

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annum, and that he be given the personal rank of Minister.

This appointment would be made in accordance with the provisions of Section 2 (d) of the United Nations Participation Act, as amended.

Mr. Thorp's resignation and a draft letter of acceptance will be transmitted for your signature upon confirmation by the Senate of Mr. Lubin's nomination.

approved

HARRY S. TRUMAN

JUN 21 1950

Enclosure:

Nomination.



Under Secretary

x20

Ret'd to State 6/21/50

Nomination to Senate 6/21/50

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FILED BY
MR. HOPKINS
JUL 1 1950

June 30, 1950

Respectfully referred for the

files of the State Department.

x 20

WILLIAM J. HOPKINS
Executive Clerk

Transmitting copy of letter, 6/29/50, which the President received from Honorable Willard L. Thorp tendering his resignation as United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations; together with a copy of the President's letter, 6/29/50, to Mr. Thorp accepting the resignation.

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United
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Mr. Danforth
For Danforth
W. J. H.



June 29, 1950

Aug

My dear Mr. Thorp:

In accordance with your desire to devote your full energies to the ever-increasing responsibility incumbent upon you as Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, I hereby regretfully accept your resignation as United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

I wish to express my own gratitude as well as that of the Secretary of State for the outstanding contribution which you have made, on behalf of this Government, toward fostering international economic and social cooperation through the vast programs and objectives of the Economic and Social Council.

I am particularly impressed by the help you have given to the United Nations in laying the foundations of an enlarged program of technical assistance likely to improve the standards of living of millions of people in the under-developed areas of the world. Work of this kind is the best guarantee for the growth of democratic institutions throughout the world for the maintenance of peace.

In this connection, it is indeed gratifying to me that, through the exercise of your regular duties as Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, the technical knowledge and skill which you have so ably demonstrated during the past three years as United States Representative will continue to be reflected in the formulation of positions to be taken by your successor on the Economic and Social Council, thus insuring a continuity of purpose.



Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

X
 Honorable Willard L. Thorp,
 Assistant Secretary of State
 for Economic Affairs.

Reit to State 6/30/50

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

June 29, 1950

My dear Mr. President:

I hereby offer my resignation as United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, to take effect when a successor enters into office.

I am resigning from this position with great regret. The Economic and Social Council is an extremely important organ of the United Nations, and has steadily made progress, increasing the effectiveness of the work of the United Nations in the economic and social field. However, it is no longer possible for me to fulfill this function and to meet my responsibilities in the State Department with respect to international economic affairs.

I hope that my work in the State Department will continue to demonstrate my continuing interest in and support of the United Nations.

Faithfully yours,



Willard L. Thorp
Willard L. Thorp

The President,

The White House.

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

JUNE 30, 1950

The President yesterday sent the following letter to the Honorable Willard L. Thorp, accepting his resignation as United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations:

My dear Mr. Thorp:



In accordance with your desire to devote your full energies to the ever-increasing responsibility incumbent upon you as Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, I hereby regretfully accept your resignation as United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

I wish to express my own gratitude as well as that of the Secretary of State for the outstanding contribution which you have made, on behalf of this Government, toward fostering international economic and social cooperation through the vast programs and objectives of the Economic and Social Council.

I am particularly impressed by the help you have given to the United Nations in laying the foundations of an enlarged program of technical assistance likely to improve the standards of living of millions of people in the under-developed areas of the world. Work of this kind is the best guarantee for the growth of democratic institutions throughout the world for the maintenance of peace.

In this connection, it is indeed gratifying to me that, through the exercise of your regular duties as Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, the technical knowledge and skill which you have so ably demonstrated during the past three years as United States Representative will continue to be reflected in the formulation of positions to be taken by your successor on the Economic and Social Council, thus insuring a continuity of purpose.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Following is the text of Assistant Secretary Thorp's letter to the President:

My dear Mr. President:

I hereby offer my resignation as United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, to take effect when a successor enters into office.

I am resigning from this position with great regret. The Economic and Social Council is an extremely important organ of the United Nations, and has steadily made progress, increasing the effectiveness of the work of the United Nations in the economic and social field. However, it is no longer possible for me to fulfill this function and to meet my responsibilities in the State Department with respect to international economic affairs.

I hope that my work in the State Department will continue to demonstrate my continuing interest in and support of the United Nations.

Faithfully yours,

WILLARD L. THORP.

DRAFT

My dear Mr. Thorp:

In accordance with your desire to devote your full energies to the ever increasing responsibility incumbent upon you as Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, I hereby regretfully accept your resignation as United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

I wish to express my own gratitude as well as that of the Secretary of State for the outstanding contribution which you have made, on behalf of this Government, toward fostering international economic and social cooperation through the vast programs and objectives of the Economic and Social Council.

I am particularly impressed by the help you have given to the United Nations in laying the foundations of an enlarged program of technical assistance likely to improve the standards of living of millions of people in the under-developed areas of the world. Work of this kind is the best guarantee for the growth of democratic institutions throughout the world for the maintenance of peace.

In this connection, it is indeed gratifying to me that, through the exercise of your regular duties as Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, the technical knowledge and skill which you have so ably demonstrated during the past three years as United States Representative will continue to be reflected in the formulation of positions to be taken by your successor on the Economic and Social Council, thus insuring a continuity of purpose.



Very sincerely yours,

The Honorable
Willard L. Thorp,
Assistant Secretary of State for
Economic Affairs.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON



June 26, 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HOPKINS:

Reference is made to the Under Secretary's memorandum for the President, dated June 19, 1950, transmitting the nomination of Mr. Isador Lubin as United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

Accordingly, there are attached Mr. Willard L. Thorp's letter of resignation and a draft letter of acceptance for the President's signature.



John D. Hickerson
John D. Hickerson
Assistant Secretary

Attachments:

1. Letter of resignation.
2. Draft letter of acceptance.

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File
JUL 5 1950

85-Q

June 29, 1950

My dear Mr. Lubin:

In connection with your appointment, recently confirmed by the Senate, as the Representative of the United States of America on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, it gives me pleasure to give you the personal rank of Minister.

Very sincerely yours,



HARRY S. TRUMAN

Honorable Isador Lubin, #481
Representative of the United States of #
America on the Economic and Social
Council,
United Nations.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

sent to State 6/30/50

(DRAFT)

My dear Mr. Lubin:

In connection with your appointment, recently confirmed by the Senate, as the Representative of the United States of America on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, it gives me pleasure to give you the personal rank of Minister.



Very sincerely yours,

The Honorable
Isador Lubin,
Representative of the United States
of America on the
Economic and Social Council,
United Nations.

(DRAFT)

My dear Mr. Lubin: .

In connection with your appointment, recently confirmed by the Senate, as the Representative of the United States of America on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, it gives me pleasure to give you the personal rank of Minister.

Very sincerely yours,



The Honorable
Isador Lubin,
Representative of the United States
of America on the
Economic and Social Council,
United Nations.

85-Q

APR 1 1952

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON
April 1, 1952



MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Nominations of United States
Representatives on the Statistical,
Social and Fiscal Commissions.

The Government of the United States was re-elected September 21, 1951, by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, to membership on the Statistical, Social and Fiscal Commissions for terms of three years beginning January 1, 1952. #

It is recommended that the following-named persons, who have represented the United States continuously during previous terms of membership on these Commissions, be reappointed to serve as United States Representatives for the new three-year terms:

85-Q Statistical Commission
85-Q Social Commission
85-Q Fiscal Commission
K.W.C. {
Stuart A. Rice - Statistical Commission
Arthur J. Altmeyer - Social Commission
Edward F. Bartelt - Fiscal Commission

These appointments would be made in accordance with the provisions of Section 2 (d) of the United Nations Participation Act, as amended, and by virtue of their present employment with the United States Government, Messrs. Rice, Altmeyer and Bartelt would receive no additional compensation in connection with these appointments.

There are attached for your signature, if you approve, the nominations of Messrs. Rice, Altmeyer and Bartelt to the offices indicated. Biographical sketches of the proposed nominees are also attached.

Enclosures:

1. Nominations.
2. Biographical sketches.

x
John R. Robinson

x 20

sent to Senate 4/2/52

7/11, *Sanford*
Myers

Director of L. G. NOM

For clearance

4/1 OK 5

WJ.H



7-20-4/1/52

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April 1, 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Nominations of United States
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It is recommended that the following-named persons, who have represented the United States continuously during previous terms of membership on these Commissions, be reappointed to serve as United States Representatives for the new three-year terms:



Stuart A. Rice	- Statistical Commission
Arthur J. Altmeyer	- Social Commission
Edward P. Bartlett	- Fiscal Commission

These appointments would be made in accordance with the provisions of Section 2 (d) of the United Nations Participation Act, as amended, and by virtue of their present employment with the United States Government, Messrs. Rice, Altmeyer and Bartlett would receive no additional compensation in connection with these appointments.

There are attached for your signature, if you approve, the nominations of Messrs. Rice, Altmeyer and Bartlett to the offices indicated. Biographical sketches of the proposed nominees are also attached.

Enclosures:

1. Nominations.
2. Biographical sketches.

DELM ACHESON

Sent to Senate 4/2/52

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Stuart Arthur Rice - sociologist, statistician.

Born Wadena, Minn., Nov. 21, 1889; son Edward Myron and Ida Emelin (Hicks) R.; A.B., University of Washington, 1912, A.M., 1915; Ph.D., Columbia University, 1924; married Chineta Williamson, 1914; m. 2d, Sarah Alice Mayfield, May 29, 1934; 1 son, Stuart Arthur. Sec., Industrial Welfare Commission, Washington, 1913; confidential insp. Department of Public Charities, New York, 1914-15; supt., New York Municipal Lodging House, 1916-17; field representative, War Camp Community Service, 1918; educational director, N.W. Division, American Red Cross, 1919-20; instructor and assistant professor, sociology, Dartmouth, 1923-26; professor sociology, later professor sociology and statistics, University of Pennsylvania, 1926-40; research sec. for social statistics, Social Science Research Council, 1931-32; visiting professor, sociology, University of Chicago, 1932-33; acting chairman, Committee on Government Statistics and Information Services, 1933; asst. director of Census, 1933-36; 1st vice chairman, 1933-35, acting chairman, 1935-36, chairman, 1936-40, Central Statistical Board; assistant director of the Budget in charge of statistical standards, Executive Office of the President, since July 1940; special investigator of social statistics, President's Research Committee on Social Trends, 1931-32. Member, International Statis. Inst. (chmn. arrangements com., 25th Biennial Session, pres. since 1947), Inter-American Statistical Inst. (chmn. organizing committee and 1st vice president since 1941), American Sociol. Society, American Statis. Association (pres. 1933), American Economic Assn.; member, American Council of Learned Societies, 1928-32, Social Science Research Council, 1937-42; fellow A.A.A.S. (vice president 1937); member, executive committee for establishment of Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, 1938-39; Member, organizing committee, and chairman, statistics section, 8th American Scientific Congress, Washington, 1940; chairman, U.S. Standard Commodity Cat. Bd., 1945. Chmn., United Nations Statistical Commission, 1946; U.S. Representative and rapporteur since 1947. Author: Farmers and Workers in American Politics, 1924; Quantitative Methods in Politics, 1928; Communication Agencies and Social Life (with M.M. Willey), 1933; Next Steps in the Development of Social Statistics, 1933. Editor: Statistics in Social Studies, 1930; Methods in Social Science, 1931; Social Statistics in the United States, 1933. Home: 4406 N. 38 Street, Arlington, Virginia. Office: Bureau of the Budget, Washington, D.C.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Arthur Joseph Altmeyer - commissioner, Social Security. Born DePere, Wisconsin, May 8, 1891; son John G. and Carrie (Smith) A.; B.A., University of Wisconsin, 1914; M.A., 1921, Ph.D., 1931, LL.D., 1939; married Ethel M. Thomas, July 3, 1916. High school teacher, 1914-16; school prin., 1916-18; statistician, Wisconsin Tax Commission, 1918-20; chief statistician, Wisconsin Indsl. Commission, 1920-22, sec., 1922-33; chief of Compliance Div., N.R.A., 1933-34; 2d asst. sec. of Labor, June 1934-Aug. 1935; chairman, Tech. Bd., President's Committee on Economic Security, 1934-35; mem., Social Security Board of U.S., 1935-39, 1939-45, chairman, Feb. 1937-July 1946; appointed commissioner, Social Security, July 1946; served as executive director, War Manpower Comm., May-Dec. 1942; mem., War Manpower Commission, 1942-45; mem., executive committee of National Youth Administration, 1935; mem., Interdepartmental Advisory Council, to coordinate health, welfare, and related activities affecting National Defense; chairman, U.S. Government delegation Regional Conf. Am. States Members of International Labor Organization, Havana, Cuba, 1939; chairman, American delegation, 1st Inter-American Conf. on Social Security, Santiago de Chile, Sept. 1942; chairman, Inter-American Com. on Social Security; adviser to U.S. representative on Economic and Social Council of United Nations, Sept. 1946; appointed U.S. representative on Social Commission, Economic and Social Council, United Nations, Nov. 7, 1946; executive director, preparatory commission, International Refugee Organization, Mar.-Aug. 1947; appointed U.S. Representative on the Social Commission of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations for a term of three years, Mar. 2, 1949. Member - Phi Beta Kappa, Unitarian. Author: The Industrial Commission of Wisconsin - a Case Study in Labor Law Administration, 1932; Receipts and Disbursements of Civil Divisions in Wisconsin; General Accident Statistics for Wisconsin. Home: 4613 Rock Spring Road, Arlington, Virginia. Office: Social Security Building, Washington, D.C.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Edward F. Bartelt - government official.
Born Quincy, Illinois, June 17, 1895; son G. Henry
and Emily (Goessling) B.; educated public schools
of Quincy; married Mildred Smith, June 5, 1917;
children - Betty, Ruth, John. Chief, Division of
Bookkeeping and Warrants, Treasury Department since
1927; commissioner of accounts, U.S. Treasury,
since 1934; assistant secretary of the Treasury,
since March 1945; appointed U.S. Representative on
the Fiscal Commission of the Economic and Social
Council of the United Nations for a term of two
years, Nov. 7, 1946; appointed U.S. Representative
on the Fiscal Commission of the Economic and Social
Council, United Nations, for a term of three years,
Nov. 29, 1948. Interdepartmental chairman, U.S.
Savings Bonds Committee since 1942; national chmn.
for Federal employees, American Cancer Society
since 1946. Club: Columbia Country. Home:
3017 Stephenson Place, N.W. Office: Treasury
Department, Washington, D.C.

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Proposed Re-nomination of United States
Representatives on Commissions of the
Economic and Social Council of the
United Nations:

Mr. Stuart A. Rice - Statistical
Mr. Arthur J. Altmeyer - Social
Mr. Edward P. Bartelt - Fiscal



On September 21, 1951, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations re-elected the Government of the United States to membership, for a term of three years each, beginning January 1, 1952, on the Statistical Commission, the Social Commission, and the Fiscal Commission. The Secretary General of the United Nations has, therefore, requested that the names of the United States nominees, to serve as representatives for the new terms, be communicated to him.

The Department recommends, with the concurrences of the other agencies concerned, that the following persons, who have represented the United States continuously during previous terms of membership on the Commissions, be re-nominated to serve as Representatives during the new three-year terms, as from January 1, 1952:

Mr. Stuart A. Rice - Statistical Commission
Mr. Arthur J. Altmeyer - Social Commission
Mr. Edward P. Bartelt - Fiscal Commission

Under the provisions of Section 2 (d) of the United Nations Participation Act, as amended, Public Law 341, 81st Congress, the nominations would be made by the President, with the advice and consent of the United States Senate. The nominations would be subject also to confirmation by the Economic and Social Council. No additional compensation would be authorized, since Messrs. Rice, Altmeyer and Bartelt are currently employed by the United States Government.

If the foregoing recommendation is approved, the Department will forward a formal recommendation and the nominations for signature by the President and transmittal to the Senate.

G.F.

United Nations

February 26, 1952

FILED BY
MR. HOPKINS

FEB 29 1952

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have read with interest and appreciation your summary report concerning the last meeting of the United Nations General Assembly. You did a fine job. #

I know that it must have been difficult to carry on with the staff problems you had, especially during a session where the problems up for discussion were tough to deal with. But I know that your leadership of the United States delegation was inspiring and I feel that what you did at Paris carried all of us further along the road towards peace. I think particularly of action taken on such problems as disarmament and collective security.

As your letter makes clear, the General Assembly is invaluable in offering a forum for consultation and co-operation with other delegations. It gives us a chance to make our views widely known to other peoples, and vice versa. I think it speaks well for United States policies, and the way they were presented at Paris, that our position was supported by the Assembly on almost all important items.

I was especially interested in what you had to say regarding Arab aspirations and the trance-like state of mind in Western Europe concerning the Soviet menace.

We must continue steadfast and show the way to greater strength and realism.

I thank you for all you have done.

Very sincerely yours,



Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Park Sheraton Hotel,
56th Street and Seventh Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

(S) HARRY S. TRUMAN

- x Russia
- x Arabia
- x State, Dept. of
- x Foreign policy

11/10
B. File

Important Issues Likely to Come Before the General
Assembly of the United Nations*

1. Unanimity Rule (Veto) and Related Issues. The Australian and Cuban Governments have placed on the agenda of the General Assembly items which will raise for general debate questions concerning the desirability of retaining the unanimity rule (veto) as provided in Article 27 of the Charter defining voting in the Security Council. It is recommended that the United States continue to emphasize that unanimity among the permanent members is not only a desirable objective, but is considered essential to the effective operation of the Security Council. Moreover, the United States considers that there has not been sufficient experience under the Charter to warrant basic revision of the Charter at this time as contemplated in the Cuban proposal for a constitutional convention.

However, the unanimity rule is meant to be confined to the most vital decisions affecting war and peace.

In keeping with both the purpose and the spirit of the rule the United States should take leadership in promoting a liberal interpretation by the Security Council of Article 27 and the Four-Power Statement interpreting that Article, to which the United States, Russia, China, and France publicly stated their agreement at the San Francisco Conference. It is believed that through a liberalized interpretation of Article 27 most of the abuses of the voting formula which, rather than its legitimate uses, are the primary objects of criticism, can be corrected.

2. Report of the Headquarters Commission on Recommendations Concerning the Permanent Site. The General Assembly will receive the report of the Headquarters Commission which was limited in its terms of reference to making recommendations concerning specific areas in Westchester County (N.Y.) and adjoining Fairfield County (Conn.). In view of the strong opposition that has developed among the residents of those

areas

* Issues on this list are actually on the agenda of the General Assembly except for the question of Palestine which may be brought up in the course of the Assembly session.



-2-

areas it is likely that the Headquarters Committee of the General Assembly will wish to consider some sites outside of the Commission's terms of reference, such as Flushing Meadows (N.Y. World's Fair Grounds), and perhaps San Francisco which will propose several specific areas.

It is recommended that the United States abandon its position of neutrality and take the leadership in finding a satisfactory solution to the headquarters problem; however no specific site is recommended as the United States preference at present.

The United States should advocate appointment by the General Assembly headquarters committee of a subcommittee, which would include the United States as an active participant to consider the Commission's report and also the most important sites outside the Commission's terms of reference.

It is further recommended that the United States abstain from voting on any move to consider also a European site if such a proposal is made in spite of present indications that a majority of United Nations members still favor a site in the United States.

3. Palestine. Consideration should be given as to whether the United States should introduce a resolution on Palestine proposing United Nations endorsement of a plan along the lines of the President's statement of October 5.

4. Trusteeship. The United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Australia and New Zealand are expected to submit draft trusteeship agreements. We have been in consultation with all these governments and they have adopted almost all of our suggestions. We think it most important for the agreements to be approved so that the Trusteeship Council can be established at this session of the General Assembly.

From point of view of our prestige as the leading proponent of the trusteeship system at Yalta and at San Francisco it is desirable that our own position with respect to the Japanese Mandated Islands be clarified promptly. (The Secretary together with the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy are planning to take this matter up promptly with the President).

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
MAYFLOWER HOTEL
WASHINGTON
ZONE 4

ROBERT E. HANNEGAN
CHAIRMAN

October 22, 1945

The Honorable

The President

Dear Mr. President:

—Attention Matt Connelly—
Edwards
Mayor Kelly of Chicago has asked me
to convey to you his sincere desire that
Chicago be designated as the capital city
for the United Nations.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Hannegan

2299-A

*But, says there is
nothing in Antidulcibus
but a cracked bell —*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Memorandum

Matters to be Reviewed with
the President and Secretary Byrnes

- (1) Time and Place of the Organization Meetings of the
General Assembly, the Security Council, and the
Economic and Social Council.

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The necessary ratifications of the Charter may be deposited by early October, thus making it possible to set November 15 as the target date for the organization meetings of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. It is recommended that the United States urge the necessity for speed, and propose this target date.

It is also recommended that the organization meeting of the United Nations be held in London. The choice of any other location would cause some delay.

- (2) Location of Permanent Headquarters of the United Nations

It appears that a majority of the United Nations may be in favor of the permanent headquarters of the organization being in the United States. Russia and China have so advised us. France, Australia, New Zealand, and the Netherlands have given similar indications informally. The Latin Americans and Near Eastern countries

-2-

will almost all favor the United States. Great Britain apparently favors Europe.

I favor the United States as the permanent location and recommend that my instructions be to state informally to my colleagues in London that the United States would be glad to become the host to the United Nations if that is the desire of the other countries; that no effort should be made initially, at least, to enlist support for the United States as the seat of the Organization; that we should propose that the Assembly and other organs of the United Nations should meet in various parts of the world from time to time.

(3) Selection of Non-Permanent Members of the Security Council

The following slate is recommended for the first three elections as a basis for negotiations in London:

<u>First Year</u>	<u>Second Year</u>	<u>Third Year</u>
Brazil	Brazil	Peru
Canada	Canada	Australia
Netherlands	Netherlands	Belgium
Poland	Czechoslovakia	Czechoslovakia
Egypt	Turkey	Turkey
Venezuela (or	Mexico (or	Mexico (or
Mexico)	Venezuela)	Venezuela)

(4) Selection of Members of the Economic and Social Council

It is recommended that two principles be agreed upon: first, that States elected as non-permanent members of the Security Council should not also be elected members of the Economic and Social Council; second, that about ten of the most important economic countries, and about eight countries of high social achievement would make the best composition of membership.

The following tentative slate for the first election is recommended as a basis for negotiations in London:

United States	Denmark
U.S.S.R.	Chile
United Kingdom	Australia
China	Iraq
France	Czechoslovakia
India	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Colombia	Mexico
Greece	Uruguay
Belgium	Turkey

(5) Procedure for Selecting the President of the Security Council

I recommend that the United States favor the rotation of the Presidency among all the members of the Security Council on a monthly basis. Rotation among the Big Five only would emphasize unduly

the position of the Great Powers on the Council.

(6) Selection of the President of the Preparatory Commission and the President of the First General Assembly.

It is recommended that Czechoslovakia be given the Presidency of the Preparatory Commission and that Norway be given the Presidency of the first General Assembly.

(7) Selection of the Secretary-General.

The Secretary-General should, if possible, not be a national of one of the Big Five; he should be chosen because of his qualifications. It is recommended that our first choice should be Mr. Norman A. Robertson, Under Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada. Other possibilities are: Ambassador L. B. Pearson, Canada; Mr. Adrian Pelt, Netherlands; Mr. Stanley M. Bruce, Australia; Mr. D. D. Forsyth, South Africa; and Mr. C. Parra Pérez, Venezuela.

(8) Admission of New Members of the United Nations Organization.

It is recommended that no action should be taken at the organization meeting of the United Nations to admit new members, and that this matter be postponed until the first annual meeting of the General Assembly.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Memorandum for the President and Secretary Byrnes

Preparations for United States Participation in the Organization Meeting
of the United Nations

A number of decisions will have to be taken within the next month or so in regard to the United States participation in the organization meeting of the United Nations, which I hope may be held this fall, perhaps as early as November 15. Since it will not be possible to settle these questions before I leave for London, I should like to leave with you this memorandum giving you my preliminary views on certain of these matters so that they may be taken into consideration when decisions are being made.

1. Statute Authorizing Appointment of the
United States Representative, Etc.

In my opinion, we committed ourselves to the Congress at the time of the Senate debates to introduce a statute providing for United States participation in the United Nations. I believe the statute should:

- (a) Authorize the President to appoint, with the advice and consent of the Senate, the United States Representative, with specified rank, who shall be the representative of the United States on the Security Council and Chairman of the United States Delegation to the General Assembly and who shall act under the President's instructions as transmitted by the Secretary of State.
- (b) Provide that the United States Representative should be the senior representative of the United States to the United Nations; that all other United States representatives at the permanent seat of the organization,

including

including any representative on the Economic and Social Council, and the representative on the Trusteeship Council, should be subject to his supervision. It seems to me that it is essential to provide for central responsibility and for coordination on the spot of all United States activities at the seat of the Organization in order that the United States may speak with a single voice in the United Nations.

- (c) Authorize the President to appoint with the advice and consent of the Senate, a representative on the Trusteeship Council, and, whenever appropriate, a representative on the Economic and Social Council.
- (d) Provide that the four other United States delegates to the General Assembly should be appointed by the President, without the advice and consent of the Senate, to serve for a single meeting of the Assembly. The delegation should act under instructions from the President as transmitted by the Secretary of State.
- (e) Contain appropriate provisions for an appropriation to the Department of State for the support of the organization, including the office of the United States Representative and his staff.
- (f) I have no strong views as to whether the statute should or should not contain a provision specifically authorizing the President to make available to the Security Council in accordance with the special agreements referred to in Article 43 of the Charter, any of the armed forces, assistance and facilities (including rights of passage) specified in such special agreement, which may be called for by the Security Council. I incline to the view that such provision

is probably

-3-

is probably not necessary and that it would be wiser not to propose such a provision, and to oppose it if it is suggested in the Congress.

2. Appointment of United States Representative

I assume this should take place shortly after the passage of the statute referred to above and that the letter of appointment would contain appropriate provisions with respect to the powers and functions of the United States Representative and his staff, including budget arrangements.

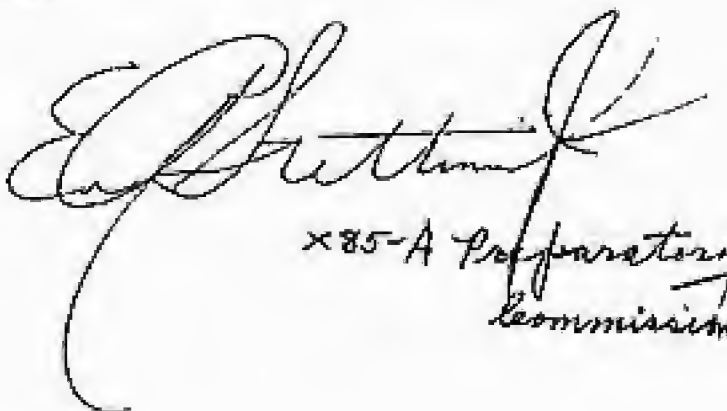
3. Appointment of Four Other Delegates
to the General Assembly

x 85-}

It is my feeling that two of these delegates should normally be chosen from the Congress, presumably one Senator and one Representative. The other two delegates should be chosen from among outstanding public figures. Consideration should be given to continuing the practice followed previously in United Nations matters, of having the opposition party represented, and of having one woman on the delegation.

4. Selection of Principal Assistants of
United States Representative

Certain of the principal assistants of the United States Representative should, if possible, be appointed in time for the organization meeting of the United Nations. I have in mind particularly that the United States representative on the Economic and Social Council should be chosen so that he can be officially appointed as soon as the United States is chosen as one of the members of that Council, and so that he can participate in the organization meeting of that body which it is contemplated will take place during the organization meeting of the General Assembly. I shall be prepared to submit recommendations at the appropriate time.


x 85-A Preparatory
Commission

⑨

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 24, 1945

85-A

4528

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE
x20

You probably have a copy of
the memorandum of Mr. Stettinius with
respect to the Organization Meeting
of the United Nations.

I wonder whether the Department
has any recommendations to make with
respect thereto.

H. S. T.

x85



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

September 27, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Organization Meeting of the United Nations

I refer to your memorandum of September 24 requesting the Department's recommendations on Mr. Stettinius' message to you of September 20 on the above subject.

285-9
The time schedule set forth in Mr. Stettinius' message, which leads up to an organization meeting of the General Assembly in London on December 4, was worked out by the Department with Mr. Stettinius before he left for London. He is to be commended for having succeeded in getting our views on the importance of an early meeting of the Assembly adopted by the Executive Committee despite considerable tendency to delay on the part of some of the other members of the Committee.

You may recall that before leaving for London, Mr. Stettinius discussed the matter of the permanent headquarters of the United Nations with you and with Secretary Byrnes. It was agreed that, pending further consideration by the Department and by you, he would

take




- 2 -

x85-P take the position in his preliminary conversations in London on this subject that the United States is receptive to the idea of having the permanent headquarters here but that we are not actively seeking it. We feel that it would be very desirable to have a decision on location made by the Assembly at its meeting in December so that the principal organs of the United Nations, namely, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the Secretariat, ^{x85-Q} could promptly move to their permanent headquarters and so that the full-dress meeting of the General Assembly now scheduled for next Spring could also be held at the permanent headquarters. For a decision on location to be reached at the December meeting of the Assembly, a definite recommendation on this subject should be made by the Preparatory Commission during its meeting in the early part of November. Prior to that time we should, if possible, reach a decision as to our own position. It will undoubtedly be helpful to be able to discuss this and other important questions with Mr. Stettinius who is planning, as he states in his message to you, to return on or about October 15.

In

- 3 -

In view of the foregoing considerations, there is attached a draft telegram which it is recommended you send to Mr. Stettinius in reply to his message.



Acting Secretary

Enclosure:

Draft telegram to Stettinius.

4531

DRAFT TELEGRAM

RESTRICTED

AMEMBASSY,

LONDON.

FOR STETTINIUS FROM THE PRESIDENT.

I am pleased to see from your message of September 20 that you have succeeded in persuading the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission of the desirability of early organization meetings of the principal organs of the United Nations. I agree that it will be helpful for you to return home around October 15 for consultations with me and the Department.

"OK

EST"

(The President OK'd the above and it was returned to Acheson 9/29/45.)

85-A

September 29, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE: 170

The President has OK'd the suggested message for Stettinius submitted with your memorandum of September twenty-seventh. Will you please be good enough to have the message forwarded to Mr. Stettinius?

85-A Preparatory Lamm-
Fulcher

M. C. LATTA
Executive Clerk

dmf

Copies retained in file.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Clifford - The White House
DATE: Oct. 21, 1946
FROM : SPA - Mr. Hiss
SUBJECT: Schedule for the Opening Session of the General Assembly,
Wednesday, October 23

In response to your request for a memorandum of information as of today on the above subject, I have just received the following schedule from New York as being the latest plans of the United Nations Secretariat:

1. Deputy Mayor of New York will speak for six minutes.
2. M. Spaak, President of the General Assembly, will speak for fifteen minutes.
3. The President's address to begin at 4:30 p.m.

As to both the Deputy Mayor's speech and M. Spaak's speech, the Secretariat is distributing mimeographed translations (of the Deputy Mayor's speech into French, of M. Spaak's speech into English) so that there will be no delay due to repetition of their speeches by interpreters.

The Secretariat is counting on the President coming upon the platform at the same time that the other speakers do.



Allen Hiss

Mr. James J. Maloney, Acting Chief

October 21, 1946.

Mr. Henry J. Nicholson, Aide to Supervising Agent

Itinerary of the President and First Lady on Wednesday, Oct. 23, 1946.

- 2:10 PM - Depart the White House
- 2:25 PM - Arrive at the ATC Terminal, National Airport
- 2:30 PM - Airborne enroute to New York
- 3:40 PM - Arrive LaGuardia Air Field. No reception or honors planned. Pictures will be taken by White House photographers.
- 3:45 PM - Depart LaGuardia Air Field
- 4:00 PM - Arrive U.N.O. Building. Received by Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary General, who will escort the President and First Lady to the Reception Room.
- 4:05 PM - The First Lady and other members of the Presidential party will be ushered to the Presidential box.
- 4:10 PM - The President will be escorted to the Speaker's Platform. He will be seated with Naval and Military Aides. After the President has been seated, Mr. Vinson R. Impellitteri, President of the New York City Council, will welcome the delegates to New York and he will be followed by the Hon. Paul Spack, President of the U.N. General Assembly, who will speak for fifteen minutes.
- 4:30 PM - The President will address the U.N.O. delegates at the conclusion of which he will return to the Reception Room where he will be joined by the First Lady and other members of the party.
- 5:00 PM - Depart U.N.O. Building enroute to the Waldorf-Astoria
- 5:15 PM - Arrive at the Waldorf-Astoria. The President and First Lady will be received by Mr. Frank Ready, President of the Hotel, who will escort the party to the Presidential suite located on the 34th floor.
- 6:30 PM - The President and First Lady will leave the suite and proceed to the Starlight Roof where the delegates of the U.N.O. will be received by the President and First Lady.
- 7:50 PM - The Presidential party will leave the reception and return to the Presidential suite.
- 8:00 PM - The Presidential party will depart the Waldorf-Astoria for the Pennsylvania Railroad Station.
- 8:20 PM - Arrive Pennsylvania Station
- 8:25 PM - Presidential train will depart New York enroute to Washington, D. C.
- 12:00 AM - Arrive Washington, D. C.



Henry J. Nicholson
 HENRY J. NICHOLSON
 Aide to Supervising Agent.

APPROVED

James J. Rowley
 JAMES J. ROWLEY,
 Supervising Agent.

B. 10/23/46

85-A



IMMEDIATE RELEASE

JUNE 5, 1947

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The General Assembly of the United Nations in special session on May 15, 1947, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"The General Assembly calls upon all governments and peoples, and particularly on the inhabitants of Palestine, to refrain, pending action by the General Assembly on the report of the Special Committee on Palestine, from the threat or use of force or any other action which might create an atmosphere prejudicial to an early settlement of the question of Palestine."

The search for a fair and workable solution of the Palestine problem is one of the most difficult and important tasks confronting the United Nations. It is in the interest of the United States as well as of the United Nations that the efforts of the United Nations to solve this problem meet with success. Activities calculated further to inflame the passions of the inhabitants of Palestine, to undermine law and order in Palestine, or to promote violence in that country are certain to create an atmosphere prejudicial to an early settlement of the Palestine problem and to render still more difficult the tasks which the United Nations has before it.

I therefore urge every citizen and resident of the United States, in the interests of this country, of world peace, and of humanity, meticulously to refrain, while the United Nations is considering the problem of Palestine, from engaging in, or facilitating, any activities which tend further to inflame the passions of the inhabitants of Palestine, to undermine law and order in Palestine, or to promote violence in that country.

- - - - -

Original in 887 1-3

B. E. 10

CONFIDENTIAL FILE

From: President
To: Map Room

9/6/47

For: Secretary of State

Recommendation made in your message NIACT 1026 of 6 Sept.

are approved.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From: SECRETARY OF STATE

Date: September 6, 1947, 1 p.m.

WASHINGTON

No.: NIACT 1026

Code: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Received: September 6, 5:35 p.m.

URGENT

Completed: September 6, 5:55 p.m.

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE PRESIDENT.

The U.S. Mission in New York has received an informal inquiry from the SYG whether there has been any thought or plans as to the possibility of your attending the opening session of GA in New York on Tuesday, September 16. Mr. Lie did not wish to cause any embarrassment by extending a formal invitation, but wanted to know what our thoughts are on subject. U.S. Mission has been instructed to say by way of preliminary answer that your trip to Rio would make it virtually if not completely impossible for you to attend the opening session.

Recommendation.

I recommend that:

1. The Mission be instructed to inform the SYG that you are deeply appreciative of his inquiry concerning the possibility of your attending the opening session of the GA and that you regret that you will not return from Rio in time for it to be practicable for you to attend.
2. The Mission should be instructed to say also

DECLASSIFIED

E. O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 3(D) or (F)

Dep. of State Lett. Aug. 7, 1973

By NLT/K. NARS Date 2-5-78



CONFIDENTIAL

x b. F. State
x 85-A

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

16-57112-1 GPO

From: SECRETARY OF STATE

Date: September 6, 1947, 1 p.m.

WASHINGTON

No.: NIACT 1026

Code: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Received:

URGENT

DECLASSIFIED

E. O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)

Dept. of State Exec. Aug. 2, 2003

By NLT-H, NARS Date 2-5-76

- 2 -

that you have asked the Secretary of State to extend greetings and a personal welcome on your behalf to the GA.

3. As a general policy it is probably not desirable that a precedent be allowed to develop that the President should regularly attend and address the opening session of each GA. The decision as to his attendance should in each case take account of the existing circumstances, including the agenda of the session, the general political situation at home and abroad, and other commitments on the President's calendar.

LOVETT

120

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL FILE

Filed
9-29-47

WHW V NSS NR2/7TH A NTL 070200Z

FROM: NAVAL AIDE TO THE PRESIDENT, RIO DE JANEIRO

TO : MAP ROOM, THE WHITE HOUSE

NR : FILED 070200Z

FOR SECRETARY OF STATE FROM THE PRESIDENT X RECOMMENDATIONS
MADE IN YOUR MESSAGE NIACT 1026 OF 6 SEPTEMBER ARE APPROVED X

RECD. 070240Z HED

TELEPHOND TO MR BROMLEY SMITH, STATE DEPT

MAP ROOM DID NOT HANDLE MESSAGE REFERRED TO ABOVE



UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

200 WEST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.
CIRCLE 8-4400

Burlington, Vermont
December 18, 1946

His Excellency,
The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear President Truman:

I have kept the State Department informed every morning of events in the General Assembly which has just closed. Now I feel that I must write you personally my impressions of the whole meeting.

In the beginning the Soviet attitude, as expressed by Mr. Molotov, was extremely bitter and hostile to the United States. When we ended the General Assembly that attitude had changed to quite cordial relations. Without appeasement, but with reasonable consideration for each other's points of view, the United States and Russia came to agreement upon practically every great issue in the Assembly. Even the question of disarmament was solved. The Russians would not yield on the point of veto in the Security Council. Nevertheless, they did yield on the point of veto in the operational field. On the plan for disarmament, which involves a treaty or treaties, each major power has a veto but once the machinery for safeguards, inspection and enforcement is set-up, their operation will be free from the veto. Of course, this depends on the treaties.

Throughout the delegations of the fifty-four nations there was manifested a strengthened confidence and faith in the United Nations. This was based upon the achievement by the Assembly of objectives such as:

- Locating the site of the permanent headquarters in New York;
- Adoption of eight trusteeship agreements and the formation of the trusteeship system;
- Regulation of armaments and disarmament;
- Certain recommendations regarding human rights and an international code;
- The admission of four new states promoting the principal of universality;
- The constant adherence of the great powers in all things to the principal of sovereign equality of nations both great and small;
- Recommendations for relief and for aid to refugees;
- Recommendations regarding Spain.

B-30

LIBRARY
S. Truman

UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

200 West 57th Street
New York 19, N.Y.
CIRCLE 0-4-400

-2-

We parted filled with hope for the future. The belief of mankind that we can avoid war should be increased as a result of this meeting.

I am grateful to you for giving me the opportunity for service in this great cause.

With the highest regards, I am

Faithfully Yours,

Warren R. Austin,

B. File

OUTGOING DISPATCH

U. S. NAVY RADIO RIO

Action WHITE HOUSE

Class/Proc. P R I O R I T Y

Method.

TOR/ Date.

Co/Typist.

CWO.

Released. W. M. RIGDON, LTCDR USN

070200 Z

FROM THE PRESIDENT FOR SECRETARY OF STATE X RECOMMENDATIONS
MADE IN YOUR MESSAGE NIACT 1026 OF 6 SEPTEMBER ARE APPROVED X

RELEASED:

CCR# 2149

D/T 0702002

ALUSNA	
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NAVMS	
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CO-ORDINATOR
NAVAL DELEGN.
JBUEMC

OTHER (INDICATE)	
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[illegible]

STANDARD FORM NO. 14A
APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT
MARCH 10, 1926

TELEGRAM

OFFICIAL BUSINESS—GOVERNMENT RATES

FROM

The White House
Washington

September 9, 1946

~~ATTENTION: FAX~~

Mr. Clark M. Kicholberger, Director,
American Association for the United Nations,
45 E. 65th St.,
New York, New York.

RE YOUR TELEGRAM SEPTEMBER SEVENTH WAS GLAD CALL TO PRESIDENT'S
ATTENTION. HE APPRECIATES YOUR THOUGHTFULNESS IN FIRING AS YOU DID.
REGARDS.

MATTHEW J. CONNELLY
Secretary to the President. . . RLK



*Mrs Blair
We were glad
and P's attention. &
He appreciates thoughtfulness
winning as he did*

B 1 3

SEP 7 1 05 PM 1946

B94 77

NBN NEWYORK NY SEP 7 1946 1239P

MATTHEW CONNELLY

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHDC

WOULD YOU PLEASE GIVE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT
TERRIBLY DISTURBED OVER NEWS FROM PARIS THAT THE FOREIGN
MINISTERS MAY REQUEST ANOTHER DELAY IN THE UNITED NATIONS
ASSEMBLY THIS WOULD ESTABLISH A PRECEDENT FOR REPEATED

DELAYS. FURTHERMORE POSTPONEMENT OF THE ASSEMBLY WOULD DELAY
IMPORTANT DECISIONS ON DISPLACED PERSONS REFUGEES AND
RECONSTRUCTION MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY. AS WORLDS PARLIAMENT
SHOULD TAKE PRECEDENT OVER ANY OTHER INTERNATIONAL EVENT

185-2

X 127



POSTPONEMENT AT THIS TIME MAY DO MUCH TO HARM UNITED NATIONS
CLARK M EICHELBERGER AMERICAN ASSN FOR THE UNITED NATIONS.

*61 G. H. C. 11
(bureau on 10)*

B. e.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, INC.

(Formerly: The League of Nations Association, Inc.)

Research Affiliates

COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE



National Headquarters, 45 EAST 65TH ST., NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

Telephone: BUtterfield 8-8000

September 10, 1946

File

Mr. Matthew J. Connelly
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Connelly:

Thank you very much for your telegram informing me that my telegram reached the President. I appreciate it very much.

Faithfully yours,


Clark M. Eichelberger

enc: 1a



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*Member, Steering Committee

BI FILE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

November 26, 1948

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Message from the President of the General
Assembly of the United Nations

The Department of State has received for transmission to you the following message signed by Herbert Victor Evatt, President of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

"The General Assembly this morning adopted a resolution on the headquarters of the United Nations in which it noted with satisfaction the conclusion of the loan agreement for 65 million dollars between the United Nations and the United States Government and its approval by the Congress of the United States, and expressed its appreciation of the cooperation extended by the Government of the United States of America, the State of New York and the City of New York. As President of the General Assembly I should like to express to you on behalf of the General Assembly the gratitude of all the members of the United Nations for all the cooperation and assistance which has been given so freely to the United Nations both by the Government of the United States and by the authorities of the State and the City of New York."

Herbert V. Evatt



7-9-47
85-9
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 17, 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Special Session of the General Assembly #

24. The special session of the General Assembly to consider the Palestine question is expected to meet on April 28. The present plan is that this special session will limit its agenda to the appointment of a committee to report back to the regular session of the General Assembly in September. The question arises as to the composition of this committee.

The State Department considers that our first choice should be a small committee of comparatively disinterested states, excluding the Big Five and the Arab States, which would ascertain the facts, narrow the issues and offer alternative practicable solutions for the consideration of the General Assembly. Such a committee would have the advantage of providing a fresh approach and a consideration not unduly influenced by public positions already taken by the more interested governments. It has the disadvantage that it might be charged that the larger powers are shirking a responsibility which is in fact theirs. The members of such a committee might include:

Canada

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- 2 -

Canada
New Zealand
Sweden
Belgium
Czechoslovakia

Brazil
Mexico
Colombia
Norway
Siam

The State Department considers that our second choice should be a small committee consisting of the Big Five and six of the smaller powers, again excluding the Arab States. Such a committee would have the advantage of placing responsibility directly upon the larger powers and also of obtaining the assistance and advice of comparatively neutral United Nations members. It would have the disadvantage of injecting into the consideration of the Palestine problem the more general problems of the world settlement and of subjecting this government to great domestic pressure between now and the September meeting of the General Assembly. There is some indication that the Arab States would strongly object to a committee containing this particular membership and without an Arab member. The membership of this second type committee might be as follows:

China
France
U.S.S.R.
United Kingdom
United States

Canada
Sweden
Czechoslovakia
Belgium
Mexico
Siam

Although the State Department does not suggest that we recommend it, the special session of the General Assembly may also have before it a proposal to name a larger committee consisting of those governments now members of the Security Council, the Economic and Social

Council

- 3 -

Council and the Trusteeship Council. These would provide the following membership:

China	New Zealand
France	Turkey
U.S.S.R.	Venezuela
United Kingdom	Canada
United States	Chile
Belgium	Netherlands
Colombia	Peru
Syria	Cuba
Australia	Czechoslovakia
Brazil	India
Poland	Norway
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Iraq
Lebanon	Mexico

It will be noted that the above list contains three Arab States, to which the Jewish agency can be expected to object strongly. If such a committee were constituted, it would undoubtedly be necessary for it to establish a subcommittee along the lines of one of the alternatives described above.

Harry S. Truman
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x508



CONFIDENTIAL FILE

E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 3(D) or (G)

Dept. of State Sec., Aug. 9, 1973

By NLT: 11652, NARS Date: 9-73~~SECRET~~SIGNAL CENTER
THE WHITE HOUSEFiled
9-29-47C.F.
United Nations

FROM : WHW
TO : U.S.S. MISSOURI, AT SEA
NR : WHITE NR 19 DTG 142159Z

FROM: NEW YORK TO: SECRETARY OF STATE NO: 835, SEPTEMBER 14, 1947, 1:56 PM
URGENT FOR THE PRESIDENT FROM THE SECRETARY

FOLLOWING IS SUMMARY OF PROPOSED US VIEWS ON THE PRINCIPAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS
BEFORE THE GA OPENING HERE IN NEW YORK SEPTEMBER 16. THEY HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED
BY ME WITH THE DELEGATION ^{x85-j} WHO REFLECT GRATIFYING UNITY OF PURPOSE ON THE ISSUES
INVOLVED.

1. THREATS TO THE POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF GREECE.
THE US PLANS TO INTRODUCE IN THE ASSEMBLY A RESOLUTION DECLARING THAT
ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT RENDERED TO THE GUERRILLAS IN GREECE BY ALBANIA,
YUGOSLAVIA, AND BULGARIA CONSTITUTES A THREAT TO THE INTEGRITY AND INDEPENDENCE
OF GREECE IN VIOLATION OF THE UN CHARTER. THE RESOLUTION WILL CALL UPON THESE
COUNTRIES ^(WHITE NR 19 SECRET) UNPAREN TO HALT SUCH ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT,
AND TO TAKE STEPS LOOKING TOWARD THE RESUMPTION OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH
GREECE AS WE HAVE SUGGESTED IN THE SC. WE ARE ALSO PROPOSING IN THIS RESOLUTION
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY TO OBSERVE THE
COMPLIANCE OF THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED WITH THE ASSEMBLY'S RECOMMENDATIONS, AND
WITH AUTHORITY TO RECOMMEND A SPECIAL ASSEMBLY SESSION IN EMERGENCY CIRCUMSTANCES.
2. VOTING PROCEDURE IN THE SC. IN DISCUSSING THE ABUSE OF THE VETO POWER, WE
SHALL CONTINUE TO EMPHASIZE OUR DESIRE TO SECURE THE AGREEMENT OF ALL THE PERMANENT
MEMBERS OF THE SC TO CHANGES IN THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE COUNCIL WHICH

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x6.7. State

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E.O. 11652, Sec. 1(a) and 1(b) of (R)
D.P. of Sec. Exec. Aug. 9, 1973
By NLT-44, NARS Date 2-6-76

WOULD LIMIT THE USE OF THE VETO BY EXTENDING THE CATEGORIES OF PROCEDURAL MATTERS TO WHICH IT DOES NOT APPLY UNDER THE CHARTER. AT THE SAME TIME, WE INTEND TO EXPRESS OUR WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT ELIMINATION OF THE UNANIMITY REQUIREMENT FOR MATTERS RELATING TO THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, APPLICATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE UN, AND THE ELECTION OF THE SYG. BECAUSE THIS MATTER IS SO IMPORTANT, WE ARE ADVOCATING THAT A COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY CARRY OUT A CAREFUL STUDY OF ALL PROPOSALS DESIGNED TO LIBERALIZE THE SC'S VOTING PROCEDURE. THIS POSITION WILL SUGGEST ALSO OUR OPPOSITION TO FORMAL AMENDMENT OF THE CHARTER AT THIS TIME.

3. INTERIM COMMITTEE ON PEACE AND SECURITY. IN MY FIRST SPEECH IN THE ASSEMBLY, I INTEND TO PROPOSE THAT THE ASSEMBLY ESTABLISH A COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE, TO FUNCTION INITIALLY FOR ONE YEAR, WHICH SHALL CONSIDER SITUATIONS AND DISPUTES AFFECTING THE MAINTENANCE OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS AMONG NATIONS WITHOUT INFRINGING UPON THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SC FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. THE FUNCTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE WOULD INCLUDE MAKING CERTAIN FACILITIES OF THE ASSEMBLY CONTINUOUSLY AVAILABLE TO ALL MEMBERS, RECOMMENDING THE CALLING OF SPECIAL SESSIONS WHERE NECESSARY, AND CONSIDERING THE GENERAL PROBLEM OF INDIRECT AGGRESSION AS REVEALED, FOR EXAMPLE, BY THE SOVIET UNION IN HUNGARY AND THE BALKAN SATELLITE STATES.

4. KOREA. IN VIEW OF OUR FAILURE TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH THE RUSSIANS ON THE UNIFICATION OF KOREA OR ON A FOUR POWER CONFERENCE ON THAT SUBJECT, WE ARE CONSIDERING AN APPROACH TO THE GA TO SEEK RECOMMENDATIONS CALLING FOR SUPERVISED ELECTIONS IN THAT COUNTRY, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN TROOPS AND INDEPENDENCE FOR THE KOREANS AFTER A SHORT TRANSITIONAL PERIOD OF ASSISTANCE BY THE UN. IF THE RUSSIANS REFUSE TO ACCEDE TO SUCH RECOMMENDATIONS, WE WOULD PLAN TO ESTABLISH THE SELF-GOVERNMENT

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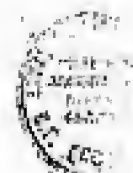
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E. O. 14176, Sec. 1.4(e) and 1.4(f) or (g)
Dept. of State Instr. Aug. 9, 1977
By NLT-41, NARS Date 2-8-82

UNDER AMERICAN CONTROL IN OUR ZONE . THIS ACCORDS WITH SNNCC RECOMMENDATIONS.

5. ATOMIC ENERGY. ALTHOUGH THIS SUBJECT MAY NOT BE FORMALLY PRESENTED TO THE GA, WE EXPECT TO USE AN APPROPRIATE OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW THE EFFORTS MADE IN THE AEC TO OBTAIN AGREEMENT ON AN EFFECTIVE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL CONTROL AND TO EMPHASIZE THE GRAVITY OF THE SITUATION RESULTING FROM THE FAILURE OF ATOMIC ENERGY NEGOTIATIONS TO DISCOVER COMMON GROUND. THE SECOND REPORT NOW BEING FURNISHED BY THE UN AEC TO THE SC MAKES IT CLEAR THAT THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT ACCEPT THE ELEMENTS CONSIDERED BY THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE COMMISSION TO BE ESSENTIAL TO EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL.

6. REGULATION AND REDUCTION OF CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS. ALTHOUGH NOT FORMERLY ON THE AGENDA, DEBATE ON THIS SUBJECT MAY DEVELOP IN THE ASSEMBLY. IF SO, WE WOULD RE-AFFIRM OUR CONVICTION THAT ARMS REDUCTION MUST DEPEND UPON THE PRIOR ACHIEVEMENT OF GREATER INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND CONFIDENCE. WE WOULD ALSO FULLY EXPLAIN THE POSITIVE STEPS ALREADY TAKEN BY THE US TO REDUCE ITS ARMS AND TO URGE THE WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES TO THEIR HOME COUNTRIES; AND WE WOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT SUCH LITTLE PROGRESS AS THERE HAS BEEN THUS FAR IN THE CCA HAS BEEN ON THE BASIS OF US INITIATIVE AND PROPOSALS.

7. MEMBERSHIP IN THE UN. SINCE THE RUSSIANS HAVE FOR THE SECOND SUCCESSIVE YEAR VETOED IN THE SC THE APPLICATIONS OF QUALIFIED STATES FOR MEMBERSHIP, WE EXPECT A SHARP DEBATE IN THE ASSEMBLY ON THIS SUBJECT. WE ARE PROPOSING THAT THE ASSEMBLY ASK THE SC TO RECONSIDER THOSE APPLICANTS WHOM THE GA BELIEVES QUALIFIED FOR MEMBERSHIP AND TO REPORT BACK TO THE ASSEMBLY AT THIS SESSION. WHILE THE SOVIET ATTITUDE MAY NOT BE CHANGED THROUGH EVEN THIS HEAVY PRESSURE, THIS PROCEDURE WILL CLEARLY DEMONSTRATE WHERE THE RESPONSIBILITY LIES FOR THE SC'S FAILURE TO ACT.

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E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 3(D) or (F)
Dept. of State Letter, Aug. 3, 1973
By: HLT/HG, NARS Date 2-5-76

8. PALESTINE, I SHALL COMMUNICATE WITH YOU SHORTLY ON OUR PROPOSALS FOR PALESTINE; THE REPORT OF THE UNSCOP WAS MADE AVAILABLE TO THIS GOVERNMENT ON SEPTEMBER 6 AND REQUIRES ADDITIONAL STUDY IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

9. THERE ARE SOME 80 ITEMS ON THE AGENDA OF THE FORTHCOMING GA, THE GREAT MAJORITY OF WHICH CAN BE DEALT WITH BY US WITHIN WELL-KNOWN EXISTING POLICIES.

MARSHALL

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B ELLS

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E.O. 12065, Sec. 3.402

State Dept. Guidelines, March 6, 1982

By DE-13 NLT, Date 8-7-85 THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

Wm. L. Harrison

October 25, 1952

~~SECRET~~
Security Information

MESSAGE FOR THE PRESIDENT FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE

My dear Mr. President:

After the first ten days of this session of the General Assembly, I think it is fair to report that things are moving for us perhaps better than we might have expected. This is, as you know, a tough session for us, because we are caught in the middle on most of the colonial issues, but we have done our best to make a virtue out of our predicament.

The organizational phase of this session has gone off more quietly and smoothly than usual. Partly, this reflects a gingerly feeling about our elections. And partly, this may be because the Russians have so far been operating under wraps. They have gone through a restrained rehash of their charges from previous years, but they have acted either with hesitancy or restraint. They have clearly not yet shown their full hand.

As we anticipated from our analysis of the Communist Party Congress in Moscow and related actions, the Russians are doing their best to isolate us from our allies, and to play upon all the differences in the non-Communist world. We have been interested to see how they would meet the dilemma of trying to woo the British and French away from us, and at the same time appeal to the people of the colonial areas. It looks as if they have decided to stress the latter, and let the former go for another time. They have lumped the British and French together with us as the Atlantic warmongers, and have made strenuous appeals, both on the floor, and in the lobbies, to the Arab-Asian bloc.

It appears to me that the outstanding political fact of the Assembly thus far has been the domination of the proceedings by the Arab-Asian group, which has been successful in every major effort up to this point. The Arab-Asian bloc has been exceptionally skillful in allying themselves with both Latin American and Soviets on particular issues, obtaining majorities which could not be countered by votes of Western European and Commonwealth members. The solidity of this Arab-Asian bloc, which is based on high-keyed nationalist and racial issues, is going to give us much more difficulty this year than ever before.

HARRY S. TRUMAN LIBRARY

As a consequence,

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As a consequence, the mood of the British, French and other Western European delegations is bitter. These delegations are determined to fight against attacks on their colonial policies, but it is a retreating, holding operation in which their prospects for success are small. If the Arab-Asian bloc pushes the GA too hard, the reaction of the Western European and Commonwealth states may be violent. In the case of South Africa, whose segregation policies are for the first time under direct attack, there is serious danger that the Delegation may actually withdraw from active participation in the Organization. If this should initiate a general trend on the part of the French and other colonial powers, the result may be the most serious internal threat the UN has yet had to face.

For awhile, the French had their backs up over an affirmative vote by us that the Political Committee take up the Tunis and Morocco items immediately following the debate on Korea. This vote was cast in a situation in which, according to our estimate, the outcome would have been the same however we voted. By so voting, we were able to pick up a little leverage with the Arab-Asian group which may enable us to moderate the debate when the items are discussed. We have talked to the French both here and in Paris, and while their reaction is still acute, I think their initial sharp reaction is subsiding. They are faced with such an unstable and inflamed political situation at home that they are having a very difficult time here, and are difficult for us to deal with as a consequence. However, they have joined with us in sponsoring the resolution on Korea, thus indicating that we do not have a serious division on our hands, at least so far.

The Political Committee began its work on the Korean item Thursday. During the first day of debate, we had a majority against issuing an invitation to the North Koreans but the voting indicated that many of our Asian friends were still inclined to sit on the fence. Therefore, in my opening statement yesterday, I felt it necessary to lay it on the line pretty heavily, to show who started this business, and to remind the members how earnestly we have tried to restore peace in Korea, without any cooperation from the Communists. Reactions afterward indicated that we picked up considerable support as a result of this approach. We have introduced a resolution which would vote confidence in the way the United States has conducted the negotiations in Korea, and explicitly in our position on prisoners of war; the resolution would also call on the Communists to agree to an armistice on a basis consistent with the principle of non-forceable repatriation. Twenty other governments have joined with us in sponsoring this resolution. This includes virtually all the governments with troops in Korea. I believe we stand a good chance of presenting a good firm majority on Korea, which may have an effect on the Communist expectations.

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By putting heavy stress on the Soviet responsibility for the Korean affair in my presentation yesterday, I feel that we may have helped to increase the liability to the Russians of a continuation of the Korean episode, and particularly to make them feel the contradiction between this running sore in Asia and their pretensions of peace. I hope this speech will have met at least some of the requirements of the speech you spoke to David Bruce about having me do here.

I felt it necessary to dispel the impression Vishinsky was trying to create, that the Communists had really offered some new concession in their note to General Harrison of October 8th. So far, there has been no indication that the Russians are ready to make any genuine move on Korea, but we are watching the situation closely.

In summing up the situation here, it appears to me that our principal job is to hold our friends and allies together in the face of a determined Soviet effort to drive wedges between us. Although we are still in the very early stages of this session, I think it looks reasonably promising so far. By starting out with a tone of moderation and letting the Soviets hang themselves with their own invective, we have picked up support from some of our friends with neutralist tendencies.

I have been endeavoring to do as much in the way of informal contacts here as possible, particularly with Latin American and Middle Eastern representatives. This kind of personal spade work is extremely useful, not only here, but in terms of our work on many other problems.

According to present indications, the Soviet reply to my statement in the Political Committee on Korea may come early next week. Because of the importance of the Korean issue, I believe I should remain here at least through the first rebuttal to Vishinsky's presentation, and then take a new reading on how much longer it would be useful for me to remain.

Most respectfully,

DEAN ACHESON

Attachment:
USUN Press Release 1566

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~~Security Information~~

CONFIDENTIAL

C.F.

JUL 19 1949

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Presidency of Fourth Regular Session
of United Nations General Assembly

1. The first order of business at the forthcoming General Assembly session, which convenes in New York on September 20, will be the election of its President. An acceptable candidate is much more likely to be elected if the United States determines whom it will support well in advance of the session, and exchanges views with other governments.

2. General Carlos Romulo (Philippines) appears to be an outstanding choice for President. It is understood that he would be greatly interested in this post. United States support for his candidacy would strengthen our friendly relations with the Philippine Republic and our general position in the Far East. On all matters which in his opinion involve the security of the United States, General Romulo has consistently supported our position, but on other matters he has frankly exercised independent judgment.

3. General Romulo is an experienced presiding officer. He has distinguished himself as the chief delegate of his government in the United Nations since the San Francisco Conference. As chairman of the Ad Hoc Political Committee during the last regular session of the Assembly, and as President of the 1948 Conference on Freedom of Information, he has proved himself an effective, well-qualified presiding officer.

4. The post of President of the General Assembly, one of the highest UN honors, has been held by a Western European, by two Latin Americans, and one representative of the British Commonwealth. On the basis of equitable geographic representation, the choice of a representative of the Far East is now appropriate.

5. It is therefore proposed that the United States Representative to the United Nations immediately begin consultations with other Delegations on behalf of General Romulo, ascertaining their views and endorsing him for the presidency if the situation warrants such action.

It is recommended that the above procedure be approved.

Approved

HARRY S. TRUMAN

(July 20, 1949)

DEAN ACHESON

CONFIDENTIAL

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E.O. 12812, Sec. 1.102 and 1.103 in GPO

Dept. of State, 2-15-76

By NLT/v, MAR 20 1976

Original Retired
for Preservation

G. F.

United Nations Trusteeship Council

August 30, 1949

My dear Ambassador Sayre:

Thank you for your letter reporting on the work of the Fifth Session of the United Nations Trusteeship Council. #

I am pleased to note that the report of the United States on its administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was well received by the Council and that the Council saw fit to commend the United States for its work so far. I share your hope that the substantial gains made at the Fifth Session of the Trusteeship Council may be preserved and that the Trusteeship Council will continue to be an increasingly effective organ of the United Nations.

Very sincerely yours,

(Sgd) HARRY S. TRUMAN

Honorable Francis B. Sayre, X
United States Representative
on the Trusteeship Council,
United States Mission to the
X United Nations,
2 Park Avenue,
New York 16, N. Y.

BW

B File

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

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E. O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 3(D) or (F)

Dept. of State Records, *Aug. 1, 1971*By NLT-*116*, NARS Date *2-6-76*~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

August 26, 1949

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HASSETT

Subject: Draft Acknowledgment of
Letter to Ambassador Sayre

In response to your memorandum of August 2, 1949, there is submitted herewith a draft of a letter for the President's signature acknowledging Ambassador Francis B. Sayre's letter of July 29, 1949 concerning the Fifth Session of the United Nations Trusteeship Council.



John D. Hickerson
John D. Hickerson
Assistant Secretary

Enclosures:

1. Draft Acknowledgment.
2. Letter from Ambassador Sayre.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

B-File

aug 30, 1949

My dear Ambassador Sayre:

Thank you for your letter ~~congratulating~~ reporting on the work of the Fifth Session of the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

I am pleased to note that the report of the United States on its administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was well received by the Council and that the Council saw fit to commend the United States for its work so far. I share your hope that the substantial gains made at the Fifth Session of the Trusteeship Council may be preserved and that the Trusteeship Council will continue to be an increasingly effective organ of the United Nations.

Very sincerely yours,

The Honorable

Francis B. Sayre,

United States Representative

on the Trusteeship Council,

United States Mission to the

United Nations,

2 Park Avenue,

New York 16, New York.

D File

My dear Ambassador Sayre:

Thank you for your letter of July 29, 1949 reporting on the work of the Fifth Session of the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

I am pleased to note that the report of the United States on its administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was well received by the Council and that the Council saw fit to commend the United States for its work so far. I share your hope that the substantial gains made at the Fifth Session of the Trusteeship Council may be preserved and that the Trusteeship Council will continue to be an increasingly effective organ of the United Nations.

Sincerely yours,



The Honorable

Francis B. Sayre,

United States Representative

on the Trusteeship Council,

United States Mission to the

United Nations,

2 Park Avenue,

New York 16, New York.

6-1111e

August 2, 1949

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

Respectfully referred to the
Secretary of State for draft of acknowl-
edgment for the President's signature,
or for appropriate handling.

WILLIAM D. HASSETT
Secretary to the President

wdh-mm

Let. to Pres., 7-29-49 from

Francis B. Sayre
Representative of the United States
in the Trusteeship Council
United States Mission to the United Nations
2 Park Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.



Gives confidential report of results of Fifth Session of UN
Trusteeship Council, met at Lake Success from June 15 to July 22, 1949.

E file



PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.
MURRAY HILL 3-6810

EXEMPTED
E. O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 3(D) or (E)
Dep. of State Instr. Aug 2, 1953
By HLT. HC, MAR 3 Date 2-2-76

UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

July 29, 1949.

~~Confidential~~

My dear Mr. President:

I have the honor to report that the Fifth Session of the United Nations Trusteeship Council met at Lake Success from June 15 to July 22, 1949. It was my privilege to participate as United States Representative, as I have at all previous sessions of the Council.

In sharp contrast to the Third and Fourth Sessions, the Fifth Session was marked by a more harmonious spirit. In my letter to you of August 6, 1949, following the Third Session of the Council, I reported that the participation of the Soviet Union in the Trusteeship Council had profoundly changed the atmosphere and the character of the Council. At the Third Session, the Soviet Representative attempted to impede the work of the Council by creating a cleavage between the six administering authorities and the six non-administering authorities. As a result, there were 10 tie votes in the Council. At the Fourth Session, the record of the voting shows a further measure of success for this Soviet policy. On 14 votes, the Council evenly divided 6-6 or 5-5, so that continued debate and delay was inevitable and progress for the time being made impossible.

During the Fifth Session, although the Soviet Representative continued to attack the administering authorities for propaganda purposes in the same familiar terms, the other non-administering authorities were inclined less and less to follow his leadership. The record of the Fifth Session shows a marked tendency on the part of the majority of the Council members to isolate the Soviet Representative and refuse to associate themselves with his position. In 71 votes taken during the session, there was a majority of seven or more. It is significant that

The President,

The White House.

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- 2 -

no tie votes on substantive measures took place. As a result, resolutions were adopted marking substantial progress in several important fields.

The Fifth Session was particularly noteworthy in that the Council for the first time examined a Report by the United States on its administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. This Report was well received by the Council. Although the Council requested the United States to review certain of the administrative measures adopted in the Trust Territory and suggested that certain new measures be considered, the Council commended the United States for the progress that it has made in the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants and for the full nature of the information submitted by the United States. An exception to the favorable tenor of comment by the members of the Council was the consistent adherence by the Soviet Representative to his policy of attack.

May I take this opportunity to say that the representatives of the Department of the Navy in the United States delegation were most cooperative and helpful. In accordance with the Council's procedures, the Deputy High Commissioner of the Trust Territory sat at the Council table to provide supplementary information during the Council's examination of the Report on the Trust Territory.

At the opening of the Fifth Session certain measures on the agenda seemed likely to cause debates in the Council so acrimonious as to risk paralyzing the Council and deadening its influence. The United States delegation therefore assumed an active role in conferring privately with leading delegations, initiating negotiations for solutions of some of the outstanding difficulties, and leading the way in securing the passage of constructive resolutions. As a consequence, the Council adopted without bitter dispute a number of forward-looking resolutions which will help to advance the welfare of indigenous inhabitants of the trust territories and to strengthen the international trusteeship system. Another development apparent during the Fifth Session, which augurs well for the increased effectiveness of the Trusteeship Council, is the use of small committees and technical advisers to work on specific problems and to arrive at generally acceptable recommendations.

It is my hope that the substantial gains made at the Fifth Session of the Council may be preserved, and that the Council

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E. O. 11652, Sec. 3(b) and 3(d) or (e)

Dept. of State, Aug 1975

E. O. 11652, Sec. 3(b) or (c)

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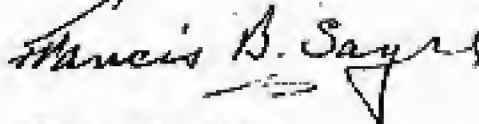
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- 3 -

may become an increasingly useful part of the United Nations structure. I believe that its effectiveness can be greatly increased if the administering authorities continue to work in the Council with patience and moderation and if the non-administering authorities continue to cooperate in constructive work to advance the welfare of the inhabitants of the trust territories.

Faithfully yours,



Francis B. Sayre
Representative of the United States
in the Trusteeship Council



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E.O. 11652, Sec. 2(k) and 3(D) or (F)

Date of Review: Aug 18, 1975

BY RLT-HC, NARS Date 2-5-86

~~Confidential~~

File

Letters of Harry S. Truman
Official File

JOHN ROSS DELAFIELD
FOREST HEC. HARM
GEORGE H. PORTER
CLAUDE A. HOPE
WILMONT B. LINNEN
EUGENE BLANE, JR.
JAMES C. MULLIGAN

WILLIAM R. LOCKWOOD
DOROTHY S. MCGEE
JAMES HAPPER

DELAFIELD, MARSH, PORTER & HOPE
COUNSELLORS AT LAW
10 EXCHANGE PLACE
NEW YORK 5, N.Y.

April 18, 1945.

RECEIVED
APR 19 9 24 AM '45

SAMUEL THORNE
COUNSEL
BRANDY DIALA
FARIE ADDRESS
"DELMARSH" NEW YORK

85-A
Dear Sir:

At luncheon one day last summer with my neighbor, President Roosevelt, at his house at Hyde Park, the conversation turned to the nature of a postwar United Nations organization. I found that we thought alike about some of the fundamental ideas."

Many months earlier Prof. Robert McElroy of Oxford and I, after long consideration and discussion, had made notes of what we thought essential. These have recently been revised and copies sent to the American representatives to the San Francisco conference. I had intended sending a copy to President Roosevelt, and now forward it to you thinking you may find in it something of interest.

Yours respectfully,

John Ross Delafield
JOHN ROSS DELAFIELD,
Brig. Gen. Inact. Res. U.S.A.

To
Honorable Harry S. Truman,
The President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

JRD-VM
enc.

April 13, 1945.

Dear Senator:

The thousands who have lost loved ones in this war follow, with hope, the planning for the United Nations Organization. I write as one of these realizing that unless the organization has the confidence of civilized men and sufficient independent power, it will be no better than those that in the past have tried and failed.

Is it not possible to establish an international body which, while not a government, will have influence, and could be given power, sufficient to prevent international disputes from developing into wars? This means building upon a world-wide judicial conscience which exists rather than attempting to build a world state upon a political conscience which does not exist.

France, I understand, has recently suggested the idea that we might try to base our proposed Union of Nations upon judicial conscience. She remembers that one of her own judges in the Court of International Justice once ventured to vote against France, and that he suffered no disgrace in France or elsewhere. Had he voted against France in the political League of Nations, France would have found another representative more alert to France's declared purposes. This means that, in France, there is a judicial conscience which justifies judges in acting against France for the good of the world. And that judicial conscience exists, in varying degrees, in all civilized nations.

The difference between the idea of political representation and the idea of judicial responsibility is clearly seen when we consider American Government. When a State sends to Washington a Senator or a Representative, his chief aim is to get what his constituents want. He must make the attempt or be displaced. But if we put the same man into a Federal, or any other Judicial office, and he is even seriously suspected of trying to secure special favors for his locality, he is looked upon as having "disgraced the ermine".

Arbitration bodies aim only at agreements; Political bodies aim at government; Judicial bodies aim at justice. Is it possible to organize a judicial union of nations which can prevent one nation from injuring another? And secure a greater measure of justice?

The enclosed outline is meant to indicate how that might be done. You may not agree with most of it, or any of it, but we believe that it may suggest to your mind matters worth considering in this hour of crisis.

Yours very sincerely,

SOME IDEAS.

So far the idea of majority rule has been worked out to apply to only limited areas. To apply it to an unlimited area, such as the whole inhabited world, is not the old idea: it is an entirely new and unworkable rule.

In the majority rule as it has been applied, heads are counted. But for a court on a world scale, heads must be weighed.

In weighing heads, we cannot avoid the fact that the weight of experience, perhaps of natural ability, lies for the most part with a minority who are in the continents of Europe and America. It is also fundamental, and not to be neglected, that the expression "created equal" applies not alone to individuals. "Created equal" is the very foundation stone of International Law, which declared in effect, at Westphalia, in 1648, and has since maintained, that all sovereign nations are created equal.

It seems clear from man's only teacher, history, that so long as all functions of government were assigned by counting heads, occasional corruption was the inevitable result. Then, to make justice more certain, man separated government into three divisions, Legislative, Executive and Judicial, and continued to choose the Legislative and the Executive branches by counting heads: but the Judicial branch was now constituted by weighing heads:— that is by removing it from popular choice by majority vote, and providing for its appointment in such a way that the majority of counted heads have no power to control or influence it. The result, while not securing perfect justice, has given a higher average of justice than could have been attained by counting heads in choosing all three divisions. Hence the greater popular confidence in the Judiciary.*

*(For the presentation of the point of view that "The judicial approach to an organization of the world must precede any other attempt at international reform," see Hans Kolso's article, "Compulsory Adjudication of International Disputes," American Journal of International Law, Vol. 37, Number 3, July, 1943, pp. 97 et seq.)

WHICH WILL MEN TRUST, A JUDGE OR A POLITICAL REPRESENTATIVE?

In contemplating world order, do we need to follow the classical division, Legislative, Executive and Judicial? Or dare we consider the possibility of a world organization to prevent wars, stemming from the Judiciary? The idea of having government carried on by Judicial officers is not new: it is very ancient. The new idea is that of having men ruled by mechanically selected rulers. In the Old Testament the Book of Judges comes before the Book of Kings.

Would it not be possible to organize upon the foundation of the Judicial conscience, and to give to the Court all the functions classically divided between the three coordinate and equal divisions? And if so, how should that international court be organized?

The delays of the law are, of course, proverbial as are also the delays of Legislatures, but there is this great difference, a Court, having once started on a case, generally carries it through, and it always reaches some decision. A Legislature in its delays, is often so diverted, that it has to be forced back to the neglected problem by the pressure of public opinion. The chief reason for this difference is generally admitted to be the fact that Judges, except those chosen by popular election, act without political urge: while the political urge is never for a moment absent from the consciousness of the Legislator or the Executive. There is, beyond question, a world-wide, judicial, conscience, but few would claim that there is a political conscience of equal extent.

I. ORGANIZATION AND SELECTION OF JUDGES CHARGED WITH MAINTAINING WORLD PEACE.

There should be a substantial number of Judges, so that they could function in panels. They should have capacity tenure, called life tenure, with adequate salaries, and ample pensions on retirement.

This being a case where population numbers mean nothing: if there are fifty-five countries there should be fifty-five Judges. A decision of a majority of all the Judges sitting on a panel should be binding and final, and not subject to any sort of referendum. This is necessary to maintain impartiality and freedom.

The Judges could be chosen, one for each country, by the highest judicial tribunal of that country, or by bodies of special electors, each subdivision of a country choosing as an elector from its own nationals, an outstanding citizen or subject recognized as a man of vision and experience. The elector must, at the time, be without any public office of any kind, and without any salary from any country or political division. Their sole function must be that of casting their electoral vote for their country's member of the World Court. That cast, the elector should automatically become again a private citizen.

Persons deemed eligible for choice to membership as judges of the World Court should be men of outstanding Judicial or Administrative experience or ability.

There should be a Chief Judge, chosen by the Court from its own number, for a term not exceeding four years, with prohibition against re-election to the position of the Chief Judge. Each panel should have a presiding Judge, and if the panels are permanent the above limit of tenure, or a system of rotation, would be desirable. There should be an inviolable principle that no native or citizen or subject of any country can sit as one of the Judges in any case in which his country is primarily involved, a principle which all Courts honor.

II. POWERS OF THE COURT.

In the act of organizing the court, there should be adopted a body of substantive law for nations similar to a constitution and bill of rights. This would be International Law greatly enlarged and developed with the embodiment of many principles learned by the experience of men, but never before given more than an ethical sanction as between nations.

The Court would adjudicate not only actual infringements of the established International Law, but would also have power to prevent threatened infringements and to pass on actual problems submitted by member countries before any actual infringement occurred. The Courts should administer not only established International Laws and principles, but also formulate new principles in accordance with the common conscience of men, to meet new situations that the established International Law and principles did not meet.

The act of organization should also give the Court power to levy and collect taxes from the member nations. This is necessary not only to secure efficient operation, but also to prevent "government by supplication" with its attendant evils, which were characteristic of America under the "Articles of Confederation."

III. EXECUTIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE AGENTS AND FORCES OF THE COURT.

The Court should have and appoint the members of administrative bodies such as an International Labor Board, Opium and Narcotics Control, etc.

The courts appoint receivers and this Court might appoint, for backward territories, officials called, for example, organizers, whose work for these regions would be an adaptation of the idea of receivership, pending the development of ability by the backward territory to govern itself.

Courts operate, in executing their decrees, through sheriffs. In such a World Court, the equivalent of the sheriff would be an army and navy stronger than those of any country likely to defy the Court's decree, but possessing only the right to prevent appeal to arms, or to suppress such appeals.

The servitors of the Court should be classified into:

1. The presenting officer or attorney general;
2. The armed forces, analogous to sheriffs to enforce the Court's decrees;
3. The group of administrators, organizers, etc.;
4. The fiscal managers of the funds available to the World Court;
5. The Secretariat and agencies for the care of the archives, publication, etc., The Archives Division;
6. An organization to govern the territory of the seat of the World Court.

1. An officer and staff equivalent to the office of an Attorney General, periodically appointed by the Court. His functions to be the investigation of all complaints and charges, collection of evidence, presentation of matters to the Court and its Boards, etc., and the representing of the United Nations, at all hearings.

The Court should have power to appoint independent personnel for any or all of these duties in any matters which they, in their discretion, deem best.

2. Of the armed forces, there would have to be a chief, chosen by the Court, for all the armed forces: army, navy, and air. He should have a tenure of four years and then go on retirement pay with no right of reappointment. There would be at least three chiefs under him: army, navy, and air force, and they would also have only a four year tenure and must then go to some other assignment. These chiefs also should be chosen by the Court.

3. The administrators, organizers, etc., would be chosen by the Court and the principal administrators should have no more than a four year tenure and then be retired and not be eligible for reappointment. Thus no one could hope either to increase or perpetuate his power. But the organizers should be rotated among the territories they govern, not kept in the same post for more than four years.

4. These should act under the same limitations as 2 and 3.

5. The heads of the Secretariat and of the Archives and Publication Divisions might be left in control during competency.

6. This body should be organized and controlled by the Court.

IV. A PROTECTED AND REASONABLY SELF
SUFFICIENT SEAT FOR THE COURT.

The first requisite is that it should be an available territory, of ample extent, and protected by nature, so far as possible, from the danger of sudden aggression.

It should be as far as possible removed from the dangers of domination by any of the member nations.

It must be capable of being organized to house and sustain for a reasonable time all its forces, its navy, its air force, etc., within its own territory.

A possible territory for such a power might be the entire island of Madagascar, or some such isolated territory with ample facilities.

April 21, 1945

My dear General Delafield:

Thank you, in the President's
behalf, for your letter of April eight-
eenth, which will be brought to his at-
tention. It was indeed thoughtful of
you to send him a copy of the notes which
you were good enough to enclose, and I
know that he will be most appreciative of
your interest.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM D. MAGNETT
Secretary to the President

Brigadier General John Ross Delafield,
Inact. Res. U.S.A.,
20 Exchange Place,
New York 5, N. Y.

elb

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
THE UNDER SECRETARY

January 15, 1946

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MATTHEW J. CONNELLY

Dear Mat:

Thank you very much indeed
for letting me see the teletype
conference between the President
and Secretary Byrnes. It was
most helpful to me. I am return-
ing it herewith.



Dean Acheson
Dean Acheson

EO 11652, Sec. 3(B) and 5(2) or (3)
Dept. of State letter, Aug. 30, 1952
By W.H. Hall, NAME Date 3-28-73

WHITE HOUSE

MAP ROOM

12 January 1945

~~SECRET~~

Conference between the President in the White House and Secretary Byrnes in London, England, at 121410Z:

SECRETARY BYRNES: Referring your wire as to the practicability of urging considering of the three matters suggested. On my arrival I found our delegates convinced that this meeting, in accordance with the suggestion of the Preparatory Committee, should be confined to organization and should not attempt to consider any of the many controversial subjects that have been suggested here and which they believed would seriously interfere with efforts to get the organization started.

The opinion of our delegation is that when the Secretariat has been organized and committees appointed, the various proposals can be considered by committees, and acted upon at the next meeting which will be held in the United States probably in May.

I agreed with this view and I think it is the view of the majority of the Assembly. I have to speak Monday morning and in the speech I have prepared, I have taken this position.

As to the veto question, Russia and Great Britain would oppose this change in the Charter at this time.

Without stating that you suggested it, I asked Connally and Vandenberg their views. They say the almost unanimous vote in the Senate for ratification could not have been secured without

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE
MAP ROOM

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, Sec. 205 and 501 or 50

Dept. of State Letter, Aug. 10, 1983

By NE-HK, NAME Date 3-20-75

Conference, 12 January 1945.

the veto clause. They think it would be a great mistake six months after the Charter was submitted to Senate and even before the organization starts operating, to agree to a change and think before any change is agreed to by us they should have opportunity to discuss it with Senators. Connally led fight for veto at San Francisco and would be embarrassed changing position before organization begins operating.

(Message One)

THE PRESIDENT: The suggestion was merely for your consideration. From what you say I think it would be best to let it rest.

I have signed the authorization for Mr. Winant to act as you suggested.

Reaction here to London meeting is good.

SECRETARY BYRNES: As to proposal to outlaw atomic bombs in war, that is included in your proposal to establish a commission to recommend plans to control atomic energy. If we made a proposal separate from your commission plan it would be regarded as abandoning that plan with its provisions as to safeguards and I am sure would split our delegation and possibly cause difference with British and Canada.

(Message Two)

THE PRESIDENT: Then don't do it.

SECRETARY BYRNES: Before next meeting in the United States we will have opportunity to consider these two matters and I respectfully suggest we had better delay such action until we can fully discuss them.

Delegation is now apparently united.

~~SECRET~~

- 2 -



(Message Three)

COPY NO.

WHITE HOUSE

MAP ROOM

~~SECRET~~

Conference, 12 January 1945.

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(a) and 5(D) or (G)
Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1992
By SP-1/AS, DATE 3-24-93

THE PRESIDENT: Your suggestion is approved.

SECRETARY BYRNES: Delegation is now apparently united. I repeat I told
Senators the veto suggestion had been made to me but did not
state source. (Message Four)

THE PRESIDENT: Your action in entire matter is approved.

SECRETARY BYRNES: We have elected to Security Council: Brazil, Netherlands,
Poland, Egypt, Mexico.

The remaining contest is between Australia and Canada.
We supported Canada because Dominions selected Canada but are
not vitally concerned. Thanks. (Message Five)

THE PRESIDENT: Your support of Canada is highly approved. I have
nothing further.

SECRETARY BYRNES: Good bye and good luck.

THE PRESIDENT: Good luck to you.

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, Sec. 2(a) and 2(b) or (c)

Dept. of State Files, Aug. 10, 1972

by SP-5 JAC DATE 3-22-75

*For Mr. President
Approved
August 11, 1948
United Nations
New York*

2 Park Avenue,
New York, New York.

August 6, 1948.

Confidential

My dear Mr. President:

May I send you this brief word summarizing the work of the Third Session of the United Nations Trusteeship Council, to which you honored me by appointing me the United States Representative.

The session lasted from June 16 to August 5. The outstanding feature of the session was the participation of the Soviet Union which during the First Session and part of the Second Session had boycotted the Council as illegal and unconstitutional. The presence of the Soviet representative, Mr. S. Tsarapkin, has profoundly changed the atmosphere and the character of the Council. Before the Soviet Union took its seat, the Council representatives worked in a spirit of notable harmony and cooperation and the Council was being welded into an international organ of power and effectiveness. As a result of Russian participation, the previous harmony of the Council has been shattered, united constructive efforts have been frequently blocked, the Council's work seriously impeded and the length of the session probably doubled over what would have been its normal duration. The Trusteeship Council has been converted into another arena within the United Nations for the profound conflict between the Soviet Union and the West.

The Soviet delegate has seized upon every conceivable occasion to accuse the administering powers of violating both the Charter and the trusteeship agreements, to impugn their good faith, and to denounce them in sweeping terms as oppressive and "imperialistic". The Mexican and the Philippine delegates have been especially susceptible to this form of propaganda appeal, and the Soviet abuse of colonial powers was often sufficiently artful to cause the unhappy result of splitting the Council evenly, as it had not been split in previous sessions, between the six administering and the six non-administering powers.

Very

The President,
The White House.

*RECEIVED
August 11, 1948
White House*

- 2 -

Every strategy of the Soviet Delegation had to be studied, and often resisted, as setting a precedent which might jeopardize not only the interests of individual administering powers but also the basic principles of the trusteeship system. Throughout this session of the Council, as in preceding sessions and in the Second Session of the General Assembly, I have constantly sought to uphold a genuinely liberal and constructive position in promoting the human rights and interests of the inhabitants of all non-self-governing territories.

Great care will be needed by our Government, in my opinion, to explain and set forth in its true light American policy at the next session of the General Assembly in Paris and elsewhere. We shall be under the constant and heavy fire of Soviet propaganda.

Especially must we exercise scrupulous care in promoting to our utmost the political, economic, social and educational advancement of our own Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. A report on our stewardship must come under the sharp scrutiny of the United Nations in the near future.

In spite of these very serious difficulties, the Trusteeship Council, by dint of the determination of a majority of its members, was able to press forward in the achievement of constructive results. Annual reports, submitted by the Governments of the United Kingdom, Belgium, and Australia on their administration of the trust territories of Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi, and New Guinea, respectively, were examined with great care by the Council. Its constructive observations on these reports, to be submitted to the General Assembly next autumn in Paris, will, I hope, result in promoting and accelerating the advancement of the indigenous inhabitants of these territories. The Council also dispatched a mission to make a visit this summer and to investigate conditions in Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi. This first-hand study, on behalf of the Council, of local conditions and problems in those trust territories will, I hope, enable the Council at its meeting in January to take further constructive steps to advance the welfare of these peoples.

May I express once again, Mr. President, my pleasure in working under your leadership.

Very sincerely yours,

Francis B. Sayre
Representative of the United States
in the Trusteeship Council

United Nations Trusteeship Council

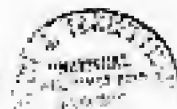
August 10, 1948

Dear Dr. Sayre:

I appreciated very much your good letter of August sixth and I am most happy to have the information which your letter contained. It is certainly most interesting.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN



Honorable Francis B. Sayre
2 Park Avenue
New York, New York

*x Trusteeship
x State Dept.*

B-116

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

~~Confidential~~

2 Park Avenue,
New York, New York.

August 6, 1948.

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The Soviet delegate has seized upon every conceivable occasion to accuse the administering powers of violating both the Charter and the trusteeship agreements, to impugn their good faith, and to denounce them in sweeping terms as oppressive and "imperialistic". The Mexican and the Philippine delegates have been especially susceptible to this form of propaganda appeal, and the Soviet abuse of colonial powers was often sufficiently artful to cause the unhappy result of splitting the Council evenly, as it had not been split in previous sessions, between the six administering and the six non-administering powers.

Every

The President,
The White House.

DECLASSIFIED
E. O. 11652, Sec. 1(c) and (d) of (b)
D. of State Exec. Aug. 9, 1973
By NLT-~~611-28~~ NARS Date 2-4-76

B File

- 2 -

Every stratagem of the Soviet Delegation had to be studied, and often resisted, as setting a precedent which might jeopardize not only the interests of individual administering powers but also the basic principles of the trusteeship system. Throughout this session of the Council, as in preceding sessions and in the Second Session of the General Assembly, I have constantly sought to uphold a genuinely liberal and constructive position in promoting the human rights and interests of the inhabitants of all non-self-governing territories.

Great care will be needed by our Government, in my opinion, to explain and set forth in its true light American policy at the next session of the General Assembly in Paris and elsewhere. We shall be under the constant and heavy fire of Soviet propaganda.

Especially must we exercise scrupulous care in promoting to our utmost the political, economic, social and educational advancement of our own Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. A report on our stewardship must come under the sharp scrutiny of the United Nations in the near future.

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May I express once again, Mr. President, my pleasure in working under your leadership.

Very sincerely yours,

Francis B. Sayre

Francis B. Sayre
Representative of the United States
in the Trusteeship Council

3 File

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

FILED BY
MR. HOPKINS
AUG 12 1950

August 9, 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

6-21-79, NRS 518, 3-21-79
CR NRS 7P-30
NARS, DMS 6-11-29

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HASSETT

Subject: Draft Acknowledgment of
Ambassador Sayre's Report
to the President

In response to your memorandum of July 27, 1950, there is submitted herewith a draft of a letter for the President's signature acknowledging Ambassador Francis D. Sayre's letter of July 24, 1950 reporting on the Seventh Session of the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

John D. Hickerson
John D. Hickerson
Assistant Secretary

x State Dept.

Enclosures:

1. Draft Acknowledgment.
2. Letter from Ambassador Sayre.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DRAFT

Aug 10, 1950

My dear Ambassador Sayre:

I had read with much interest your thoughtful letter
~~Thank you for your letter of July 24, 1950 reporting on~~

the Seventh Session of the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

It is reassuring to find

~~I am pleased to note~~ that you believe the Council is

becoming an increasingly effective organ of the United Nations

and that its work will assist materially in the progressive

development of the peoples of trust territories. It is,

moreover, gratifying that the report of the United States

on its administration of the Trust Territory of the

Pacific Islands was again favorably received by the Council.

Very Sincerely yours,



The Honorable

Francis B. Sayre,

United States Representative

in the Trusteeship Council,

United States Mission to the

United Nations,

Two Park Avenue,

New York 16, New York.

July 27, 1950

FILED BY
MR. HOPKINS
AUG 12 1950

Dear Mr. Sayre:

I certainly did appreciate your good letter of
the twenty-fourth in regard to the Seventh
Session of the United Nations Trusteeship
Council. I think we must be sure that our
own conduct in Trusteeship matters is above
reproach and I believe it is.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Honorable Francis B. Sayre
2 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York



UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

 1000 PARK AVENUE
 NEW YORK 18, N.Y.

BRAY HILL 3-6840

July 24, 1950.

Confidential

My dear Mr. President:

I have the honor to report that the Seventh Session of the United Nations Trusteeship Council met at Lake Success from June 1 to July 21, 1950. It was my privilege to participate as United States Representative as I have at all of its previous sessions.

The Council has completed this session's long agenda ahead of schedule and has worked in an exceptionally harmonious and constructive spirit. It succeeded, during the session just concluded, in largely overcoming the underlying tendency to split into two opposing groups,—those states not administering trust territories pitting themselves against the group of administering states. The result has been a smoothly running and efficient working body which is becoming an increasingly effective organ of the United Nations.

Unlike the situation at the Sixth Session in Geneva where the Delegation of the Soviet Union neither appeared nor explained its absence, at the beginning of this session the Representative of the Soviet Union did appear, but, having failed to secure the unseating of the Representative of the National Government of China, declared that his Government would neither participate in meetings with the Chinese Representative nor consider decisions taken by the Council in his absence as valid. He then walked out. All other Members of the Council, however, supported the United States position that no Member of the Council can invalidate its decisions by refusing to participate.

One of the first matters dealt with by the Council this session was the question of Jerusalem. After Ambassador Garreau of France, retiring President of the Council, had reported that neither of the two Governments in occupation of Jerusalem would cooperate in the implementation of the Statute adopted at Geneva, the Council decided by a vote of 9 to none, with one abstention, to refer the

The President,
 The White House,
 Washington, D. C.

 DECLASSIFIED
 PRESIDENTIAL FILE 79-30

BY NLT/MK NARS, Date 4-11-79

x Russian
Confidential

whole question back to the General Assembly. No other course seemed practicable. The text of the Statute approved by the Council at its Geneva meeting, as well as the report of the President of the Council on his efforts to secure the cooperation of the two occupying powers and the reply of the Government of Israel containing certain new proposals, will therefore be laid before the General Assembly during its autumn meeting.

The Council also referred to the General Assembly for its approval the trusteeship agreement for the former Italian colony of Somaliland. The Government of Italy, as you know, has already provisionally assumed responsibility for the administration of this territory and as soon as the General Assembly approves the agreement Somaliland will become the eleventh trust territory.

In the course of its normal work of supervising the administration of the trust territories, the Council examined the annual reports from the four trust territories in the Pacific area and two in Africa. This work was carried on in a conscientious and painstaking manner and I believe that the Council's reports on these areas will materially assist in the progressive development of the peoples.

One of the reports examined at this session was the second report by the United States on its administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. This was given a very favorable reception, and a resolution was passed by the Council congratulating the United States "on the substantial progress made in all fields during the year under review". Great credit for this, it seems to me, belongs to the Navy, which is administering the Islands.

At its Seventh Session the Council dealt with an unusually large number of petitions, totaling 217. Of particular interest was a group of petitions submitted by the Ewe tribe who inhabit the coastal areas of both French and British Togoland in West Africa and who are earnestly seeking the unification of their homeland. Five petitioners, natives of these areas, able and speaking excellent English and French, flew all the way from Africa to present their views in person before the Council. At the conclusion of the hearing, a constructive resolution was passed, along the lines of which the British and French Governments plan to take immediate steps to meet the difficult problems involved, beginning with the calling of a Consultative Commission of indigenous representatives to ascertain "what the real wishes and interests of the people are".

The relationship between the races of the West and the peoples of Asia and Africa may well determine in the Twenty-first Century the destinies and the happiness of every people, including our own. The nascent power of the yellow and black and brown peoples of Asia and Africa is incalculable. At a time when the Soviet Government is busy spreading

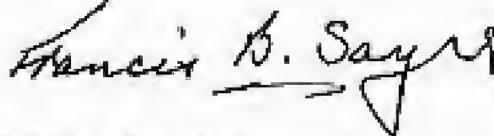
~~Confidential~~

- 3 -

throughout Asia and Africa false propaganda based on obsolete and discarded Nineteenth Century conceptions of colonialism, it is of critical importance that an international body take constructive steps to alert the conscience of the world to the problems of underprivileged, and often unorganized and inarticulate, peoples. Today we have come to realize that the exploitation of a people by a dominant race is utterly indefensible. It must be part of the task of the United Nations to close the dangerous gap which at present exists between the backward and the advanced peoples of the world. The Trusteeship Council is working valiantly at this task.

May I, in closing, Mr. President, express my deep personal satisfaction in having the opportunity, under your guidance and inspiration, of sharing in the work of building the necessary foundations for the lasting peace of the world.

Respectfully yours,



Francis B. Sayre
Representative of the United States
in the Trusteeship Council

~~Confidential~~

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 11852, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (2)
Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1972
By SP-1/AC-WAB Date 2-26-75

~~TOP SECRET~~

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 1, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Charter for the International Organization.

At the request of Secretary Stettinius, I am transmitting to you from him a memorandum on the Charter for the International Organization as received from him in his telegram No. 7 of May 1, 1945, from San Francisco.

Joseph C. Grew

Joseph C. Grew,
Acting Secretary.



Enc.

B-111

DEPARTMENT
OF
STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES
TELEGRAPH SECTION

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(d) and 5(D) or (F)

Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1972

by 11/15/81 NAME Don't 16-75

AB-1102

No paraphrase necessary.
(TOP SECRET)

San Francisco

~~TOP SECRET~~

Dated May 1, 1945

Rec'd 3:20 p.m.

TO: ACTING SECRETARY GREW ONLY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

FROM: STETTINIUS, UNCIO, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

7, May 1, 1945

TOP SECRET

Will you be good enough to send the attached to
the President in memorandum form as from me:

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: CHARTER FOR THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

The United States delegation to the United Nations
Conference on international organization is unanimously
agreed that in addition to the alterations in the
Dumbarton Oaks proposals that it was previously agreed
we should propose during the San Francisco Conference,
and which were listed in the memorandum to you of April
19, 1945, a few additional alterations should be proposed.
It has also been agreed that we should give our support
to certain other suggestions when made by other governments.
ALTERATIONS TO BE PROPOSED.

The most important additional points that we have
agreed to propose are:



PRINCIPLES

B. H. H.

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(A) and 3(D) of (B)
Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1972
D-44-41, NARS Date 6-26-75

-2- #7, May 1, 1945, from San Francisco

PRINCIPLES

1. Change the principles concerning non-member states so that instead of the organization being obligated to ensure that non-member states take positive action in accordance with the principles for the maintenance of peace and security, the organization would be obligated to ensure that non-member states should not interfere with action by the organization for the maintenance of peace and security.

MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND SECURITY:

1. Extend the power of the Security Council to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of settlement as well as of adjustment.

2. Specify that the measures which the Security Council should take, when it has determined that a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security exists, are limited to diplomatic, economic, or other measures not involving the use of armed force and action by air, naval, or land forces necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

SECRETARIAT:

1. Specify that in the performance of their
duties, the



B-File

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E.O. 11852, Sec. 3(d) and 5(D) or (E)

Dept. of State Issued, Aug. 10, 1972

By 215 ALL NAME Date 6-26-75

-3- #7, May 1, 1945, from San Francisco

duties, the Secretary-General and the staff should be responsible only to the organization, that they should not seek or receive instructions in regard to the discharge of their responsibilities from any authority external to the organization, and that the members should undertake fully to respect the international character of the responsibilities of the Secretariat,

AMENDMENTS:

1. Supplement the amendment procedure by providing that a general conference of the members of the United Nations may be held for the purpose of reviewing the charter at a date and place to be fixed by a three-fourths vote of the General Assembly with the concurrence of the Security Council by a vote of seven. Each would have one vote in the conference, and recommendations of the Conference by a two-thirds vote would take effect in accordance with the procedure prescribed for amendments,

ALTERATIONS TO BE SUPPORTED:

The most important points that we have agreed to support are:

PRINCIPLES:

1. Specify the obligations of all members

(a) To cooperate



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EO. 11652, Sec. 3(d) and 5(D) or (E)

Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1972

By NAT-HU-NAME Date 6-16-75

-4-#7, May 1, 1945, from San Francisco.

- (a) To cooperate in the solution of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems, and
- (b) To respect international law and treaty obligations and to promote their development and their adaptation to changing conditions.



MEMBERSHIP:

- 1. List the initial member stated in an annex to the charter.

PRINCIPAL ORGANS:

- 1. Eliminate the distinction between principal organs and other agencies of the organization, and list together all the main bodies mentioned in the proposals.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY:

- 1. Specify the power of the General Assembly to
 - (a) Determine the number of representatives each member state could have in the General Assembly,
 - (b) Formulate draft conventions for submission to states for ratification,
 - (c) Act within the limits of the charter on matters of

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-5-#7, May 1, 1945, from San Francisco.

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(2) and 3(3) or (2)

Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1973

By 11652-H, KARS Date 6-26-73

matters of concern to the organization which
are not allocated to other organs.

2. Indicate that the rights and privileges of
members that have been suspended may be restored by
the same process as that required for suspension (by
the General Assembly upon recommendation of the
Security Council), except that if the General Assembly
is not in session they may be restored by decision
of the Security Council.

3. Provide that the members of the organization
should report periodically on the effect given by them
to recommendations of the General Assembly.

4. Indicate that special sessions may be called
by the Security Council or on request of a specified
number of members.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL:

1. Specify that the Security Council, and member
states in carrying out the decisions of the Security
Council, should act in accordance with both provisions
of the charter and the purposes and principles of the
organization.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COOPERATION:

1. Specify that the organization should:

(a) Promote



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E.O. 11652, Sec. 302 and 303 of (D)

Dept. of State Letter, Aug. 10, 1972

By MLT/HK MARK Date 6-26-74

-6-#7, May 1, 1945, from San Francisco

- (a) Promote cultural cooperation,
- (b) Initiate negotiations for the creation of specialized agencies for the accomplishment of its objectives.

2. Empower the Economic and Social Council:

- (a) To initiate the agreements to bring specialized organizations into relationship with the organization,
- (b) To make only recommendations that are consistent with those adopted by the General Assembly,
- (c) To perform functions entrusted to it by Intergovernmental agreements, subject to approval by the General Assembly, as well as functions assigned it by the General Assembly.



3. Specify that the Economic and Social Council should:

- (a) Initiate the agreements to bring specialized organizations into relationship with the organization,
- (b) Set up such commissions, committees, or other bodies as it needs, rather than to specify an economic and a social commission.

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3-110

TOP SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, Sec. 303 and 304 or (2)

Dept of State letter, Aug. 10, 1972

by ~~ALH~~ NAME Date 4-26-75

-7-#7, May 1, 1945, from San Francisco.

SECRETARIAT:

1. Provide that the Secretary-General shall be elected by the General Assembly with the concurrence of the Security Council acting by a vote of seven, for a period of five years and eligible for re-election. Also that he should be subject to removal by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly.

2. Empower the Secretary-General to bring to the attention of the General Assembly any matter which may threaten or impair the general welfare,



~~TOP SECRET~~No paraphrase necessary
(TOP SECRET)DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(a) and 3(c) of (a)
Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1972
By 111-1-1000 NAME Date 6-26-75~~TOP SECRET~~

SAN FRANCISCO

DATED JUNE 8, 1945

REC'D 5:10 a.m.

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STETTINIUS, UNCLIO, SAN FRANCISCO

1, June 8

The following is my daily message to you on developments at the conference:

1. Voting procedure. At the request of Ambassador Gromyko a meeting of the Big Five was held in my office this afternoon, he having previously informed me that he had received his instructions on the subject of voting procedure. At this meeting he announced that the Soviet Government, "in the interest of unanimity among the major powers and in order to speed the work of the conference" agrees that the veto shall not apply to the consideration and discussion of disputes under paragraph 2, section (A) chapter VIII, the Ambassador added that to carry out this interpretation an adaption of the draft statement of May 26 of the four sponsoring governments is necessary in order to prevent further attempts to obtain exceptions for other paragraphs of section VIII, (A) and with respect to other questions on which the Council would vote. A subcommittee of the Big Five is therefore meeting again this evening in order to work out a redraft of this statement.

As soon as I learned from Ambassador Gromyko that he had received his instructions I immediately called a meeting of the Steering Committee which was held immediately after the meeting of the Big Five. I announced to the Steering Committee that complete agreement had been reached among the four sponsoring powers and France upon an interpretation of the voting procedure under which

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E.O. 11652, Sec. 2(a) and 5(b) or (c)

Dept. of State Instr. Aug. 10, 1972

By ADULT/ML/NAAS Date 6-26-75~~TOP SECRET~~~~TOP SECRET~~

-2-#1, June 8 from UNCIO

under which no single state would be able to prevent the hearing, discussion and consideration of a dispute by the Security Council. This announcement was greeted, as were my subsequent statements, with warm applause. I continued by pointing out that this agreement on this central point justified the faith and confidence which we had all had that our high endeavor at San Francisco would be successfully carried out. I urged that all delegations now bend their energies to bringing the work of the conference to a satisfactory conclusion at the earliest possible time and expressed the hope that it might be possible to do so within about ten days. The fact that the Big Five had reached agreement upon this vital issue and that I had come directly from the Big Five meeting to announce this successful outcome to the chiefs of all the delegations created an extremely favorable impression. We intend to take advantage of this propitious atmosphere to expedite the work of the committees and commissions of the conference in every appropriate way and to maintain the feeling of harmony and general satisfactory which now exists.

2. Executive Committee. At its meeting this morning the Executive Committee agreed to recommend to the Steering Committee that the question of expulsion should be referred back to the appropriate technical committee for consideration.

3. Work of committees of the conference.

A. United Nations. The technical committee approved unanimously and by acclamation with all the delegates standing the name "United Nations" for the new international organization.

B. International law

RECEIVED
E.O. 11652, Sec. 2(a) and 1.7(c) of (C)
Dept. of State, Aug. 10, 1972
22/11/1972

B. International law. A technical committee approved a recommendation of the U.S. that a clause which had been approved by a subcommittee authorizing the General Assembly to make recommendations for the "revision of international law" should be altered to refer to the "progressive development of international law."

STETTINIUS



85-7

June 9, 1945

77/12/45

7

Dear Henry:

Thanks for the letter from

Sumner Welles. I am going to read it

x661 with a lot of interest. I am taking it
with me over the week-end.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd) HARRY S. TRUMAN

Honorable Henry A. Wallace x3
Secretary of Commerce
Washington, D. C.



B. File



THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
WASHINGTON 25

June 5, 1945

The President

The White House

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed is a letter from Sumner Welles.
It is worth reading because, as you know, he
enjoyed for many years the confidence of President
Roosevelt with regard to foreign matters, and
especially with regard to the good neighbor policy
and world organization.

Respectfully yours,

W. A. Wallace

Enclosure.



B File

SUMNER WELLES

Oxon Hill Manor
Oxon Hill, Maryland

June 1, 1945

Dear Henry:

In following up our talk at my house last Sunday, these thoughts occur to me:

When the United Nations Charter is finally agreed upon at San Francisco, ~~it will inevitably~~ contain provisions which, in the considered judgment of many people in the United States and of many people in the other United Nations, are weak, unsatisfactory, or even dangerous. Such results are inevitable because of the present need for compromise in order to secure agreement on the part of the five major powers.

In particular, the rigid, all-embracing veto power to be granted to the five major powers will, in my judgment, be necessary during the first years after the war since it would be illusory to believe that any International Organization can function effectively during the initial years of the post-war period unless unanimity among the three greatest powers can be obtained.

But as at present contemplated, this veto power would make it possible for any one great power, such as France for example, after the first post-war years have passed to prevent any desirable amendment of the Charter which time and experience might show to be necessary, even though every other nation in the International Organization believed such amendment to be essential.

I very earnestly believe that public opinion in this country and in the other United Nations will be willing to accept wholeheartedly the Charter to be agreed upon at San Francisco with all of the defects and weaknesses which it may contain, if there is reasonable assurance that the Charter can subsequently be perfected and that no one great power, because of its narrow and selfish interests, can prevent such future amendment of the Charter.

The Honorable
Henry A. Wallace,
Department of Commerce,
Washington, D.C.

B. F. 100

-2-

Nothing, consequently, is in my judgment more imperative than an agreement before the Charter is finally signed upon a provision which would make the future amendment of the Charter possible.

I, consequently, believe that the present proposal for future amendment of the Charter should be discarded and that it should be replaced with a specific provision providing that at some definite date in the future, whether that be five, seven, or ten years after the present Charter commences operating, a Constitutional Assembly of all the member states be held at which all proposals for revision of the Charter may be fully considered and there agreed upon by a vote of three-quarters of the member states, including, should that be considered essential, the votes of at least three of the five major powers.

If public opinion, when the Charter is signed at San Francisco, realizes that the Charter there agreed upon is frozen for all time to come, I think there will be a very real sense of hopelessness on the part of public opinion here and an even deeper sense of hopelessness on the part of peoples in the smaller countries.

I have been deeply encouraged by the word that President Truman will personally deliver an address at the closing session of the Conference. His address can regain for the United States that moral leadership which is in danger of being lost as a result of the events of the past few weeks. If he could only emphasize in that address the fact that it remains the intention of the United States to favor the independence of all presently dependent peoples as they become capable of self-government; that we will persistently use our influence within the International Organization to further the realization of the four freedoms; and that, because this country has learned that no nation can grow rich upon the poverty of other nations and that our interest lies in promoting the greatest possible measure of social security throughout the world, this Government will likewise ever press forward for the creation of world conditions which make possible higher standards of living and full employment, the spirits of free men and women would be immediately raised. And this raising of morale will be desperately needed during the coming months.

The smaller countries in particular are beginning to believe that the United States is abdicating its leadership. They must be convinced that this is not the truth. They

B



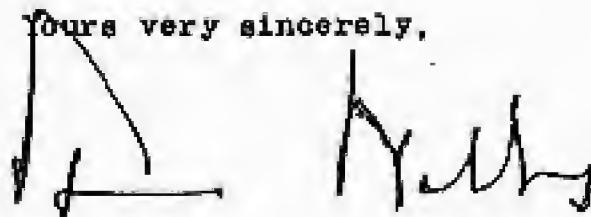
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-3-

must be given the reassurance that forward looking peoples in every region of the earth can place their reliance in this country.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "D. D. Eisenhower". The signature is written in a cursive, somewhat stylized hand. The first part "D. D." is written with a large, looped "D" and a smaller "D". The last name "Eisenhower" is written in a more fluid, cursive script.

3. 10

77/12/47

85-71

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

June 13, 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Request from Secretary-General of the United Nations that the President record a brief message to be broadcast as part of a program commemorating the second anniversary of the signing of the Charter, June 26. x450 x85-1 x136-1

In a letter to Ambassador Austin (Tab A) Secretary-General Lie requests that you be asked to record a two or three minute speech for broadcasting on June 26 in ceremonies commemorating the second anniversary of the signature of the United Nations Charter. The speech would be used in a world-wide radio program in which the United Nations Secretariat plans to include messages of similar length from heads of states or other appropriate officials of the five permanent members of the Security Council and of one other Member of the United Nations (probably Prime Minister Spaak of Belgium, the former President of the General Assembly).

If you agree to this proposal, the United Nations Secretariat requests that it receive the recording not later than June 15. The Secretary-General further suggests that a newsreel might be taken while you are making your statement, with a view to its circulation to all the Members of the United Nations.

The Department is of the opinion that it would be desirable for you to make a recorded speech of the type requested by the Secretary-General. A draft of appropriate remarks is attached for your consideration (Tab B).

If you desire to make the speech, the Office of Public Affairs of the Department of State will make the necessary arrangements with the United Nations Secretariat and with your staff.

Enclosures:

1. Copy of letter from Secretary-General of the United Nations.
2. Draft Statement.

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for [illegible]

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

June 2, 1947

No. 2500

The United States Representative at the Seat of the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary of State and has the honor to transmit herewith a copy of a letter received from the Secretary-General of the United Nations, dated May 27, 1947, with reference to an elaborate program of celebrations which is in preparation in order to commemorate on June 26, 1947, the second anniversary of the signature of the United Nations Charter.

Enclosure:

Letter from Secretary-General of the United Nations regarding program of celebrations on June 26, 1947, commemorating the second anniversary of the signature of the United Nations Charter.

B File

O P Y

UNITED NATIONS

NATIONS UNIES

Lake Success, New York, Fieldstone 7-1100

Executive Office of the Secretary-General

Reference:

1001-13-1/CGP

27 May 1947

Sir,

I have the honor to draw your attention to the fact that the United Nations will commemorate on 26 June 1947 the second anniversary of the signature of the United Nations Charter. An elaborate programme of celebrations is in preparation, the object of which will be to spread a wider knowledge of the aims of the United Nations. In the programme particular emphasis will be given to the part which films, the radio and the press can play in this connection, and I feel that it is of the greatest importance for all Members of the United Nations to bring the purposes and principles which were the inspiration of this historic document to the understanding and knowledge of their peoples.

As regards the radio programme, I believe that the various Heads of States or other appropriate officials are in the best position to explain to their respective fellow countrymen, through the radio, the real meaning of the Charter and all that it offers for the future protection of their homes and the establishment of a lasting peace.

B-File

- 2 -

In this connection, the Radio Division of the Department of Public Information is planning to make available as an introduction to such a programme in each country a transmission of a message from each of the Permanent Members on the Security Council, and from one other Member of the United Nations.

I accordingly have the honor to request you to be so good as to bring this proposal to the attention of the President of the United States of America. I believe that if he would consent to make a speech of two or three minutes, it would not only emphasize the meaning of this historic day, but would also give great support to the task undertaken by the United Nations. In the event of the President agreeing to make this speech, it would need to be recorded in advance, and it would be of additional interest if a news reel could be taken while his statement is being made, with a view to its circulation to all the Members of the United Nations.

I am sure that you will understand that the necessary technical arrangements for this wide programme will



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- 3 -

be somewhat complicated and will take some little time to complete. I should accordingly be grateful if you will be so good as to bring this request to the urgent attention of your Government, pointing out that any recording which the President agrees to make should be despatched to the Secretariat so as to reach the Radio Division not later than 15 June to allow enough time for the necessary copies to be made.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

Trygve Lie

Trygve Lie
Secretary-General

His Excellency
The Honorable Warren R. Austin,
Representative of the
United States of America at
the Seat of the United Nations,
Fifth Floor,
250 West 57th Street,
New York 19, N.Y.

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L-115
1946

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE
June 25, 1947

The following text of remarks by the President to be broadcast by transcription in a United Nations radio program is for release at 12:30 p.m., E.D.T., Thursday, June 26, 1947:

CHARLES C. ROSS
Secretary to the President

Today, on the second anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter, I am happy to speak for the Government and the people of the United States in saluting the Organization and the ideals of international cooperation which gave it life.

For the last two years, the Members of the United Nations have been exerting great effort to build and set in motion its machinery. This process of organization has gone forward in an atmosphere of disturbance and uncertainty, the aftermath of the Second World War. From the very first sessions of its principal components, the United Nations has been asked to contend with some highly controversial international political issues. It has found it necessary to chart new paths of economic and social cooperation in the complexities of a post-war world.

The effectiveness of the United Nations depends upon the Member States' meeting all their obligations. Assurance that those obligations will be met depends in turn upon the will of the peoples of the Member States. The vigor of the United Nations stems therefore from a public opinion educated to understand its problems.

The existence of the United Nations obviously affords no guarantee that every international problem can be solved easily, or automatically, or immediately. It should not be a matter for surprise or disillusionment that many issues arising as a result of the war still remain unsettled. The strength of the United Nations rests in the recognition by the Member States that, despite all differences, they have a common interest in the preservation of international peace and in the attainment of international security.

The Member States are not only bound by the Charter, jointly and severally, to execute the decisions of the Organization; they are bound to conduct their day-to-day foreign relations in accordance with the principles of freedom and justice prescribed by the Charter.

During the last two years the Government and the people of the United States have demonstrated their support of the United Nations. They have attempted consistently and actively to achieve the purposes set forth in the United Nations Charter — to prevent war, to settle international disputes by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice, to cooperate in securing economic and social advancement, to encourage respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms, and to build genuine security.

The Government and the people of the United States are aware that the realization of these objectives is not easy. They know that it is a continuing task. They will not be discouraged by temporary setback or delay.

The enterprise which was launched at San Francisco two years ago is the hope of the world for lasting peace. It provides mankind today with the best opportunity to unite for the preservation of civilization and for the continuation of human progress.

On behalf of the United States Government and of its people, I renew the pledge of our utmost efforts to insure the success of the United Nations. We shall do our part.

File

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION



23 June 1945

To All Members of the International Secretariat:

On behalf of all the Delegates to the United Nations Conference, we wish to express our heartfelt thanks for your diligent and loyal work in the creation of the Charter of the United Nations.

The unfailing cooperation and understanding with which all of you have met the many and difficult problems involved in a Conference of such unparalleled proportions are deeply appreciated and will be long remembered.

V. K. Wellington-Koo

For the Republic of China

A. Gromyko

For the Union of Soviet
Socialist Republics

Harifax

For the United Kingdom

E. A. Tamm

For the United States
of America

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

ADDRESS

OF THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE SENATE ON JULY 2, 1945

PRESENTING

THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS FOR
THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL
PEACE AND SECURITY

TOGETHER WITH

THE STATUTE OF THE INTERNATIONAL
COURT OF JUSTICE ANNEXED THERETO



JULY 2, 1945.—Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations
and ordered to be printed

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1945

[Submitted by Mr. BARKLEY]

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
July 2, 1945.

Ordered, That the injunction of secrecy be removed from the Charter of the United Nations this day presented to the Senate by the President of the United States, and that it be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and that the same be printed as a Senate document and that 10,000 additional copies be printed for the use of the Senate document room.

Attest:

LESLIE L. BIFFLE, *Secretary.*

THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. President and Members of the Senate of the United States:

It is good of you to let me come back among you. You know, I am sure, how much that means to one who served so recently in this Chamber with you.

I have just brought down from the White House, and have delivered to your Presiding Officer, the Charter of the United Nations. It was signed in San Francisco on June 26, 1945—6 days ago—by the representatives of 50 nations. The Statute of the International Court of Justice is annexed to the Charter.

I am appearing to ask for the ratification of the Charter, and the Statute annexed thereto, in accordance with the Constitution.

The Charter which I bring you has been written in the name of "We, the peoples of the United Nations." Those peoples—stretching all over the face of the earth—will watch our action here with great concern and high hope. For they look to this body of elected representatives of the people of the United States to take the lead in approving the Charter and Statute and pointing the way for the rest of the world.

This Charter and the principles on which it is based are not new to the United States Senate or to the House of Representatives.

Over a year and a half ago, the Senate, after thorough debate, adopted the Connally resolution, which contained the essence of this Charter. It called for "a general international organization based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security." What I am now presenting to the Senate carries out completely this expression of national and international necessity.

Shortly before that, the House of Representatives passed the Fulbright resolution, also favoring the creation of international machinery with participation by the United States.

You and the House of Representatives thus had a hand in shaping the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, upon which the Charter has been based.

No international document has been drawn in a greater glare of publicity than this one. It has been the subject of public comment for months. This widespread discussion has created the impression in some quarters that there were many points of disagreement among the United Nations in drafting this Charter. Naturally, much more public attention was given to the items of disagreement than to the items of agreement. The fact is that there were comparatively few points upon which there was not accord from the very beginning. Disagreement was reduced to a minimum and related more to methods than to principle.

Whatever differences there were, were finally settled. They were settled by the traditional democratic method of free exchange of opinions and points of view.

I shall not attempt here to go into the various provisions of the Charter. They have been so thoroughly discussed that I am sure you are all familiar with them. They will be so thoroughly discussed on this floor that you and the people of the Nation will all have a complete expression of views.

In your deliberations, I hope you will consider not only the words of the Charter but also the spirit which gives it meaning and life.

The objectives of the Charter are clear.

It seeks to prevent future wars.

It seeks to settle international disputes by peaceful means and in conformity with principles of justice.

It seeks to promote world-wide progress and better standards of living.

It seeks to achieve universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all men and women without distinction as to race, language, or religion.

It seeks to remove the economic and social causes of international conflict and unrest.

It is the product of many hands and many influences. It comes from the reality of experience in a world where one generation has failed twice to keep the peace. The lessons of that experience have been written into the document.

The choice before the Senate is now clear. The choice is not between this Charter and something else. It is between this Charter and no Charter at all.

Improvements will come in the future as the United Nations gain experience with the machinery and methods which they have set up. For this is not a static treaty. It can be improved—and, as the years go by, it will be—just as our own Constitution has been improved.

This Charter points down the only road to enduring peace. There is no other. Let us not hesitate to join hands with the peace-loving peoples of the earth and start down that road with firm resolve that we can and will reach our goal.

I urge ratification. I urge prompt ratification.

THE WHITE HOUSE, July 2, 1945.

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith a certified copy of the Charter of the United Nations, with the Statute of the International Court of Justice annexed thereto, formulated at the United Nations Conference on International Organization and signed in San Francisco on June 26, 1945, in the Chinese, French, Russian, English, and Spanish languages, by plenipotentiaries of the United States of America and forty-nine other nations.

I recommend that the Senate give favorable consideration to the Charter, with the annexed Statute, herewith submitted and advise and consent to its ratification.

I enclose a letter of transmittal from the Secretary of State.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

(Enclosures: 1. Letter of transmittal from the Secretary of State;
2. Charter of the United Nations, with annexed Statute of the International Court of Justice—certified copy.)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 26, 1945.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House.

The undersigned, the Secretary of State, has the honor to lay before the President, with a view to its transmission to the Senate to receive the advice and consent of that body to ratification, a certified copy of the Charter of the United Nations, with the Statute of the International Court of Justice annexed thereto, formulated at the United Nations Conference on International Organization and signed in San Francisco on June 26, 1945, in the Chinese, French, Russian, English, and Spanish languages, by plenipotentiaries of the United States of America and forty-nine other nations.

Respectfully submitted.

[s] E. R. STETTINUS, Jr.

(Enclosure: Charter of the United Nations, with annexed Statute of the International Court of Justice—certified copy.)

THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, INCLUDING THE STATUTE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind; and

to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small; and

to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained; and

to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom; and for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors; and

to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security; and

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to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest; and

to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples; have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

CHAPTER I. PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES

ARTICLE 1

The Purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

4. To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

ARTICLE 2

The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.

2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.

3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

5. All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall

refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.

6. The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

7. Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

CHAPTER II. MEMBERSHIP

ARTICLE 3

The original Members of the United Nations shall be the states which, having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, or having previously signed the Declaration by United Nations of January 1, 1942, sign the present Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 110.

ARTICLE 4

1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.

2. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

ARTICLE 5

A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council.

ARTICLE 6

A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

CHAPTER III. ORGANS

ARTICLE 7

1. There are established as the principal organs of the United Nations: a General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice, and a Secretariat.

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2. Such subsidiary organs as may be found necessary may be established in accordance with the present Charter.

ARTICLE 8

The United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs.

CHAPTER IV. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Composition

ARTICLE 9

1. The General Assembly shall consist of all the Members of the United Nations.

2. Each Member shall have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly.

Functions and Powers

ARTICLE 10

The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters.

ARTICLE 11

1. The General Assembly may consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both.

2. The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any Member of the United Nations, or by the Security Council, or by a state which is not a Member of the United Nations in accordance with Article 35, paragraph 2, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the state or states concerned or to the Security Council or to both. Any such question on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.

3. The General Assembly may call the attention of the Security Council to situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security.

4. The powers of the General Assembly set forth in this Article shall not limit the general scope of Article 10.

ARTICLE 12

1. While the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the functions assigned to it in the present Charter, the

General Assembly shall not make any recommendation with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests.

2. The Secretary-General, with the consent of the Security Council, shall notify the General Assembly at each session of any matters relative to the maintenance of international peace and security which are being dealt with by the Security Council and shall similarly notify the General Assembly, or the Members of the United Nations if the General Assembly is not in session, immediately the Security Council ceases to deal with such matters.

ARTICLE 13

1. The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of:

a. promoting international cooperation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification;

b. promoting international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

2. The further responsibilities, functions, and powers of the General Assembly with respect to matters mentioned in paragraph 1 (b) above are set forth in Chapters IX and X.

ARTICLE 14

Subject to the provisions of Article 12, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 15

1. The General Assembly shall receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council; these reports shall include an account of the measures that the Security Council has decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security.

2. The General Assembly shall receive and consider reports from the other organs of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 16

The General Assembly shall perform such functions with respect to the international trusteeship system as are assigned to it under Chapters XII and XIII, including the approval of the trusteeship agreements for areas not designated as strategic.

ARTICLE 17

1. The General Assembly shall consider and approve the budget of the Organization.

2. The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly.

3. The General Assembly shall consider and approve any financial and budgetary arrangements with specialized agencies referred to in Article 57 and shall examine the administrative budgets of such specialized agencies with a view to making recommendations to the agencies concerned.

Voting

ARTICLE 18

1. Each member of the General Assembly shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include: recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the election of the nonpermanent members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Economic and Social Council, the election of members of the Trusteeship Council in accordance with paragraph 1 (c) of Article 85, the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, the expulsion of Members, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system, and budgetary questions.

3. Decisions on other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

ARTICLE 19

A Member of the United Nations which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years. The General Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member.

Procedure

ARTICLE 20

The General Assembly shall meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require. Special sessions shall be convoked by the Secretary-General at the request of the Security Council or of a majority of the Members of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 21

The General Assembly shall adopt its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its President for each session.

ARTICLE 22

The General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

CHAPTER V. THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Composition

ARTICLE 23

1. The Security Council shall consist of eleven Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect six other Members of the United Nations to be nonpermanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

2. The nonpermanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the nonpermanent members, however, three shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate reelection.

3. Each member of the Security Council shall have one representative.

Functions and Powers

ARTICLE 24

1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.

2. In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII, and XII.

3. The Security Council shall submit annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration.

ARTICLE 25

The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter.

ARTICLE 26

In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Article 47, plans to be submitted to the Members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments.

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Voting

ARTICLE 27

1. Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.
2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.
3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI, and under paragraph 3 of Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.

Procedure

ARTICLE 28

1. The Security Council shall be so organized as to be able to function continuously. Each member of the Security Council shall for this purpose be represented at all times at the seat of the Organization.
2. The Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its members may, if it so desires, be represented by a member of the government or by some other specially designated representative.
3. The Security Council may hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the Organization as in its judgment will best facilitate its work.

ARTICLE 29

The Security Council may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

ARTICLE 30

The Security Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

ARTICLE 31

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council may participate, without vote, in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the latter considers that the interests of that Member are specially affected.

ARTICLE 32

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council or any state which is not a Member of the United Nations, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate, without vote, in the discussion relating to the dispute. The Security Council shall lay down such conditions as it deems just for the participation of a state which is not a Member of the United Nations.

CHAPTER VI. PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

ARTICLE 33

1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall,

first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

ARTICLE 34

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

ARTICLE 35

1. Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.

2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.

3. The proceedings of the General Assembly in respect of matters brought to its attention under this Article will be subject to the provisions of Articles 11 and 12.

ARTICLE 36

1. The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

2. The Security Council should take into consideration any procedures for the settlement of the dispute which have already been adopted by the parties.

3. In making recommendations under this Article the Security Council should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

ARTICLE 37

1. Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that Article, they shall refer it to the Security Council.

2. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

ARTICLE 38

Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles 33 to 37, the Security Council may, if all the parties to any dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties with a view to a pacific settlement of the dispute.

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CHAPTER VII. ACTION WITH RESPECT TO THREATS TO THE PEACE,
BREACHES OF THE PEACE, AND ACTS OF AGGRESSION

ARTICLE 39

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

ARTICLE 40

In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

ARTICLE 41

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

ARTICLE 42

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 43

1. All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

2. Such agreement or agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided.

3. The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security Council and Members or between the Security Council and groups of Members and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

ARTICLE 44

When the Security Council has decided to use force it shall, before calling upon a Member not represented on it to provide armed forces in fulfillment of the obligations assumed under Article 43, invite that Member, if the Member so desires, to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that Member's armed forces.

ARTICLE 45

In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures, Members shall hold immediately available national air-force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action shall be determined, within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

ARTICLE 46

Plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

ARTICLE 47

1. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament.

2. The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any Member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that Member in its work.

3. The Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently.

4. The Military Staff Committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional subcommittees.

ARTICLE 48

1. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine.

2. Such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members.

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ARTICLE 49

The Members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

ARTICLE 50

If preventive or enforcement measures against any state are taken by the Security Council, any other state, whether a Member of the United Nations or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems.

ARTICLE 51

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

CHAPTER VIII. REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

ARTICLE 52

1. Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

2. The Members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council.

3. The Security Council shall encourage the development of pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

4. This Article in no way impairs the application of Articles 34 and 35.

ARTICLE 53

1. The Security Council shall, where appropriate, utilize such regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority. But no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against any enemy state, as defined in paragraph 2 of this Article, provided for

pursuant to Article 107 or in regional arrangements directed against renewal of aggressive policy on the part of any such state, until such time as the Organization may, on request of the Governments concerned, be charged with the responsibility for preventing further aggression by such a state.

2. The term enemy state as used in paragraph 1 of this Article applies to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present Charter.

ARTICLE 54

The Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

CHAPTER IX. INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COOPERATION

ARTICLE 55

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

a. higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;

b. solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation; and

c. universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

ARTICLE 56

All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

ARTICLE 57

1. The various specialized agencies, established by intergovernmental agreement and having wide international responsibilities, as defined in their basic instruments, in economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related fields, shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 63.

2. Such agencies thus brought into relationship with the United Nations are hereinafter referred to as specialized agencies.

ARTICLE 58

The Organization shall make recommendations for the coordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies.

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ARTICLE 59

The Organization shall, where appropriate, initiate negotiations among the states concerned for the creation of any new specialized agencies required for the accomplishment of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

ARTICLE 60

Responsibility for the discharge of the functions of the Organization set forth in this Chapter shall be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in the Economic and Social Council, which shall have for this purpose the powers set forth in Chapter X.

CHAPTER X. THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

Composition

ARTICLE 61

1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of eighteen Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.

2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, six members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate reelection.

3. At the first election, eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council shall be chosen. The term of office of six members so chosen shall expire at the end of one year, and of six other members at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.

4. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative.

Functions and Powers

ARTICLE 62

1. The Economic and Social Council may make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters and may make recommendations with respect to any such matters to the General Assembly, to the Members of the United Nations, and to the specialized agencies concerned.

2. It may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

3. It may prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly, with respect to matters falling within its competence.

4. It may call, in accordance with the rules prescribed by the United Nations, international conferences on matters falling within its competence.

ARTICLE 63

1. The Economic and Social Council may enter into agreements with any of the agencies referred to in Article 57, defining the terms on which the agency concerned shall be brought into relationship with

the United Nations. Such agreements shall be subject to approval by the General Assembly.

2. It may coordinate the activities of the specialized agencies through consultation with and recommendations to such agencies and through recommendations to the General Assembly and to the Members of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 64

1. The Economic and Social Council may take appropriate steps to obtain regular reports from the specialized agencies. It may make arrangements with the Members of the United Nations and with the specialized agencies to obtain reports on the steps taken to give effect to its own recommendations and to recommendations on matters falling within its competence made by the General Assembly.

2. It may communicate its observations on these reports to the General Assembly.

ARTICLE 65

The Economic and Social Council may furnish information to the Security Council and shall assist the Security Council upon its request.

ARTICLE 66

1. The Economic and Social Council shall perform such functions as fall within its competence in connection with the carrying out of the recommendations of the General Assembly.

2. It may, with the approval of the General Assembly, perform services at the request of Members of the United Nations and at the request of specialized agencies.

3. It shall perform such other functions as are specified elsewhere in the present Charter or as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

Voting

ARTICLE 67

1. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

Procedure

ARTICLE 68

The Economic and Social Council shall set up commissions in economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights, and such other commissions as may be required for the performance of its functions.

ARTICLE 69

The Economic and Social Council shall invite any Member of the United Nations to participate, without vote, in its deliberations on any matter of particular concern to that Member.

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ARTICLE 70

The Economic and Social Council may make arrangements for representatives of the specialized agencies to participate, without vote, in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it, and for its representatives to participate in the deliberations of the specialized agencies.

ARTICLE 71

The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with nongovernmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the United Nations concerned.

ARTICLE 72

1. The Economic and Social Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

2. The Economic and Social Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

CHAPTER XI. DECLARATION REGARDING NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

ARTICLE 73

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end:

a. to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;

b. to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;

c. to further international peace and security;

d. to promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and to cooperate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialized international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic, and scientific purposes set forth in this Article; and

e. to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other

information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

ARTICLE 74

Members of the United Nations also agree that their policy in respect of the territories to which this Chapter applies, no less than in respect of their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good-neighborliness, due account being taken of the interests and well-being of the rest of the world, in social, economic, and commercial matters.

CHAPTER XII. INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

ARTICLE 75

The United Nations shall establish under its authority an international trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements. These territories are hereinafter referred to as trust territories.

ARTICLE 76

The basic objectives of the trusteeship system, in accordance with the Purposes of the United Nations laid down in Article 1 of the present Charter, shall be:

- a. to further international peace and security;
- b. to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement;
- c. to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world; and
- d. to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives and subject to the provisions of Article 80.

ARTICLE 77

1. The trusteeship system shall apply to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship agreements:

- a. territories now held under mandate;
- b. territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War; and
- c. territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration.

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2. It will be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories in the foregoing categories will be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms.

ARTICLE 78

The trusteeship system shall not apply to territories which have become Members of the United Nations, relationship among which shall be based on respect for the principle of sovereign equality.

ARTICLE 79

The terms of trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, shall be agreed upon by the states directly concerned, including the mandatory power in the case of territories held under mandate by a Member of the United Nations, and shall be approved as provided for in Articles 83 and 85.

ARTICLE 80

1. Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Articles 77, 79, and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this Chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties.

2. Paragraph 1 of this Article shall not be interpreted as giving grounds for delay or postponement of the negotiation and conclusion of agreements for placing mandated and other territories under the trusteeship system as provided for in Article 77.

ARTICLE 81

The trusteeship agreement shall in each case include the terms under which the trust territory will be administered and designate the authority which will exercise the administration of the trust territory. Such authority, hereinafter called the administering authority, may be one or more states or the Organization itself.

ARTICLE 82

There may be designated, in any trusteeship agreement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the trust territory to which the agreement applies, without prejudice to any special agreement or agreements made under Article 43.

ARTICLE 83

1. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the Security Council.

2. The basic objectives set forth in Article 76 shall be applicable to the people of each strategic area.

3. The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the strategic areas.

ARTICLE 84

It shall be the duty of the administering authority to ensure that the trust territory shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end, the administering authority may make use of volunteer forces, facilities, and assistance from the trust territory in carrying out the obligations towards the Security Council undertaken in this regard by the administering authority, as well as for local defense and the maintenance of law and order within the trust territory.

ARTICLE 85

1. The functions of the United Nations with regard to trusteeship agreements for all areas not designated as strategic, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the General Assembly.

2. The Trusteeship Council, operating under the authority of the General Assembly, shall assist the General Assembly in carrying out these functions.

CHAPTER XIII. THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

Composition

ARTICLE 86

1. The Trusteeship Council shall consist of the following Members of the United Nations:

- a. those Members administering trust territories;
- b. such of those Members mentioned by name in Article 23 as are not administering trust territories; and
- c. as many other Members elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly as may be necessary to ensure that the total number of members of the Trusteeship Council is equally divided between those Members of the United Nations which administer trust territories and those which do not.

2. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall designate one specially qualified person to represent it therein.

Functions and Powers

ARTICLE 87

The General Assembly and, under its authority, the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions, may:

- a. consider reports submitted by the administering authority;
- b. accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering authority;
- c. provide for periodic visits to the respective trust territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority; and
- d. take these and other actions in conformity with the terms of the trusteeship agreements.

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ARTICLE 88

The Trusteeship Council shall formulate a questionnaire on the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of each trust territory, and the administering authority for each trust territory within the competence of the General Assembly shall make an annual report to the General Assembly upon the basis of such questionnaire.

Voting

ARTICLE 89

1. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall have one vote.
2. Decisions of the Trusteeship Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

Procedure

ARTICLE 90

1. The Trusteeship Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.
2. The Trusteeship Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

ARTICLE 91

The Trusteeship Council shall, when appropriate, avail itself of the assistance of the Economic and Social Council and of the specialized agencies in regard to matters with which they are respectively concerned.

CHAPTER XIV. THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

ARTICLE 92

The International Court of Justice shall be the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It shall function in accordance with the annexed Statute, which is based upon the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and forms an integral part of the present Charter.

ARTICLE 93

1. All Members of the United Nations are *ipso facto* parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.
2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice on conditions to be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

ARTICLE 94

1. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party.
2. If any party to a case fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the Court, the other party

may have recourse to the Security Council, which may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment.

ARTICLE 95

Nothing in the present Charter shall prevent Members of the United Nations from entrusting the solution of their differences to other tribunals by virtue of agreements already in existence or which may be concluded in the future.

ARTICLE 96

1. The General Assembly or the Security Council may request the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question.

2. Other organs of the United Nations and specialized agencies, which may at any time be so authorized by the General Assembly, may also request advisory opinions of the Court on legal questions arising within the scope of their activities.

CHAPTER XV. THE SECRETARIAT

ARTICLE 97

The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such staff as the Organization may require. The Secretary-General shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organization.

ARTICLE 98

The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, of the Economic and Social Council, and of the Trusteeship Council, and shall perform such other functions as are entrusted to him by these organs. The Secretary-General shall make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization.

ARTICLE 99

The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

ARTICLE 100

1. In the performance of their duties the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organization.

2. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

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ARTICLE 101

1. The staff shall be appointed by the Secretary-General under regulations established by the General Assembly.

2. Appropriate staffs shall be permanently assigned to the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and, as required, to other organs of the United Nations. These staffs shall form a part of the Secretariat.

3. The paramount consideration in the employment of the staff and in the determination of the conditions of service shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity. Due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

CHAPTER XVI. MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

ARTICLE 102

1. Every treaty and every international agreement entered into by any Member of the United Nations after the present Charter comes into force shall as soon as possible be registered with the Secretariat and published by it.

2. No party to any such treaty or international agreement which has not been registered in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article may invoke that treaty or agreement before any organ of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 103

In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail.

ARTICLE 104

The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfillment of its purposes.

ARTICLE 105

1. The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfillment of its purposes.

2. Representatives of the Members of the United Nations and officials of the Organization shall similarly enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in connection with the Organization.

3. The General Assembly may make recommendations with a view to determining the details of the application of paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article or may propose conventions to the Members of the United Nations for this purpose.

CHAPTER XVII. TRANSITIONAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS

ARTICLE 106

Pending the coming into force of such special agreements referred to in Article 43 as in the opinion of the Security Council enable it to begin the exercise of its responsibilities under Article 42, the parties to the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow, October 30, 1943, and France, shall, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of that Declaration, consult with one another and as occasion requires with other Members of the United Nations with a view to such joint action on behalf of the Organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

ARTICLE 107

Nothing in the present Charter shall invalidate or preclude action, in relation to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory to the present Charter, taken or authorized as a result of that war by the Governments having responsibility for such action.

CHAPTER XVIII. AMENDMENTS

ARTICLE 108

Amendments to the present Charter shall come into force for all Members of the United Nations when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

ARTICLE 109

1. A General Conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council. Each Member of the United Nations shall have one vote in the conference.

2. Any alteration of the present Charter recommended by a two-thirds vote of the conference shall take effect when ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

3. If such a conference has not been held before the tenth annual session of the General Assembly following the coming into force of the present Charter, the proposal to call such a conference shall be placed on the agenda of that session of the General Assembly, and the conference shall be held if so decided by a majority vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council.

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CHAPTER XIX. RATIFICATION AND SIGNATURE

ARTICLE 110

1. The present Charter shall be ratified by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

2. The ratifications shall be deposited with the Government of the United States of America, which shall notify all the signatory states of each deposit as well as the Secretary-General of the Organization when he has been appointed.

3. The present Charter shall come into force upon the deposit of ratifications by the Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America, and by a majority of the other signatory states. A protocol of the ratifications deposited shall thereupon be drawn up by the Government of the United States of America which shall communicate copies thereof to all the signatory states.

4. The states signatory to the present Charter which ratify it after it has come into force will become original Members of the United Nations on the date of the deposit of their respective ratifications.

ARTICLE 111

The present Charter, of which the Chinese, French, Russian, English, and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of the other signatory states.

IN FAITH WHEREOF the representatives of the Governments of the United Nations have signed the present Charter.

Done at the city of San Francisco the twenty-sixth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and forty-five.

STATUTE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

ARTICLE 1

The International Court of Justice established by the Charter of the United Nations as the principal judicial organ of the United Nations shall be constituted and shall function in accordance with the provisions of the present Statute.

CHAPTER I. ORGANIZATION OF THE COURT

ARTICLE 2

The Court shall be composed of a body of independent judges, elected regardless of their nationality from among persons of high moral character, who possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices, or are jurisconsults of recognized competence in international law.

ARTICLE 3

1. The Court shall consist of fifteen members, no two of whom may be nationals of the same state.

2. A person who for the purposes of membership in the Court could be regarded as a national of more than one state shall be deemed to be a national of the one in which he ordinarily exercises civil and political rights.

ARTICLE 4

1. The members of the Court shall be elected by the General Assembly and by the Security Council from a list of persons nominated by the national groups in the Permanent Court of Arbitration, in accordance with the following provisions.

2. In the case of Members of the United Nations not represented in the Permanent Court of Arbitration, candidates shall be nominated by national groups appointed for this purpose by their governments under the same conditions as those prescribed for members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration by Article 44 of the Convention of The Hague of 1907 for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

3. The conditions under which a state which is a party to the present Statute but is not a Member of the United Nations may participate in electing the members of the Court shall, in the absence of a special agreement, be laid down by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.

ARTICLE 5

1. At least three months before the date of the election, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall address a written request to the members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration belonging to the states which are parties to the present Statute, and to the members of the national groups appointed under Article 4, paragraph 2, inviting them to undertake, within a given time, by national groups, the nomination of persons in a position to accept the duties of a member of the Court.

2. No group may nominate more than four persons, not more than two of whom shall be of their own nationality. In no case may the number of candidates nominated by a group be more than double the number of seats to be filled.

ARTICLE 6

Before making these nominations, each national group is recommended to consult its highest court of justice, its legal faculties and schools of law, and its national academies and national sections of international academies devoted to the study of law.

ARTICLE 7

1. The Secretary-General shall prepare a list in alphabetical order of all the persons thus nominated. Save as provided in Article 12, paragraph 2, these shall be the only persons eligible.

2. The Secretary-General shall submit this list to the General Assembly and to the Security Council.

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ARTICLE 8

The General Assembly and the Security Council shall proceed independently of one another to elect the members of the Court.

ARTICLE 9

At every election, the electors shall bear in mind not only that the persons to be elected should individually possess the qualifications required, but also that in the body as a whole the representation of the main forms of civilization and of the principal legal systems of the world should be assured.

ARTICLE 10

1. Those candidates who obtain an absolute majority of votes in the General Assembly and in the Security Council shall be considered as elected.

2. Any vote of the Security Council, whether for the election of judges or for the appointment of members of the conference envisaged in Article 12, shall be taken without any distinction between permanent and nonpermanent members of the Security Council.

3. In the event of more than one national of the same state obtaining an absolute majority of the votes both of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, the eldest of these only shall be considered as elected.

ARTICLE 11

If, after the first meeting held for the purpose of the election, one or more seats remain to be filled, a second and, if necessary, a third meeting shall take place.

ARTICLE 12

1. If, after the third meeting, one or more seats still remain unfilled, a joint conference consisting of six members, three appointed by the General Assembly and three by the Security Council, may be formed at any time at the request of either the General Assembly or the Security Council, for the purpose of choosing by the vote of an absolute majority one name for each seat still vacant, to submit to the General Assembly and the Security Council for their respective acceptance.

2. If the joint conference is unanimously agreed upon any person who fulfills the required conditions, he may be included in its list, even though he was not included in the list of nominations referred to in Article 7.

3. If the joint conference is satisfied that it will not be successful in procuring an election, those members of the Court who have already been elected shall, within a period to be fixed by the Security Council, proceed to fill the vacant seats by selection from among those candidates who have obtained votes either in the General Assembly or in the Security Council.

4. In the event of an equality of votes among the judges, the eldest judge shall have a casting vote.

ARTICLE 13

1. The members of the Court shall be elected for nine years and may be reelected; provided, however, that of the judges elected at the

first election, the terms of five judges shall expire at the end of three years and the terms of five more judges shall expire at the end of six years.

2. The judges whose terms are to expire at the end of the above-mentioned initial periods of three and six years shall be chosen by lot to be drawn by the Secretary-General immediately after the first election has been completed.

3. The members of the Court shall continue to discharge their duties until their places have been filled. Though replaced, they shall finish any cases which they may have begun.

4. In the case of the resignation of a member of the Court, the resignation shall be addressed to the President of the Court for transmission to the Secretary-General. This last notification makes the place vacant.

ARTICLE 14

Vacancies shall be filled by the same method as that laid down for the first election, subject to the following provision: the Secretary-General shall, within one month of the occurrence of the vacancy, proceed to issue the invitations provided for in Article 5, and the date of the election shall be fixed by the Security Council.

ARTICLE 15

A member of the Court elected to replace a member whose term of office has not expired shall hold office for the remainder of his predecessor's term.

ARTICLE 16

1. No member of the Court may exercise any political or administrative function, or engage in any other occupation of a professional nature.

2. Any doubt on this point shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

ARTICLE 17

1. No member of the Court may act as agent, counsel, or advocate in any case.

2. No member may participate in the decision of any case in which he has previously taken part as agent, counsel, or advocate for one of the parties, or as a member of a national or international court, or of a commission of enquiry, or in any other capacity.

3. Any doubt on this point shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

ARTICLE 18

1. No member of the Court can be dismissed unless, in the unanimous opinion of the other members, he has ceased to fulfil the required conditions.

2. Formal notification thereof shall be made to the Secretary-General by the Registrar.

3. This notification makes the place vacant.

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ARTICLE 19

The members of the Court, when engaged on the business of the Court, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

ARTICLE 20

Every member of the Court shall, before taking up his duties, make a solemn declaration in open court that he will exercise his powers impartially and conscientiously.

ARTICLE 21

1. The Court shall elect its President and Vice-President for three years; they may be reelected.

2. The Court shall appoint its Registrar and may provide for the appointment of such other officers as may be necessary.

ARTICLE 22

1. The seat of the Court shall be established at The Hague. This, however, shall not prevent the Court from sitting and exercising its functions elsewhere whenever the Court considers it desirable.

2. The President and the Registrar shall reside at the seat of the Court.

ARTICLE 23

1. The Court shall remain permanently in session, except during the judicial vacations, the dates and duration of which shall be fixed by the Court.

2. Members of the Court are entitled to periodic leave, the dates and duration of which shall be fixed by the Court, having in mind the distance between The Hague and the home of each judge.

3. Members of the Court shall be bound, unless they are on leave or prevented from attending by illness or other serious reasons duly explained to the President, to hold themselves permanently at the disposal of the Court.

ARTICLE 24

1. If, for some special reason, a member of the Court considers that he should not take part in the decision of a particular case, he shall so inform the President.

2. If the President considers that for some special reason one of the members of the Court should not sit in a particular case, he shall give him notice accordingly.

3. If in any such case the member of the Court and the President disagree, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

ARTICLE 25

1. The full Court shall sit except when it is expressly provided otherwise in the present Statute.

2. Subject to the condition that the number of judges available to constitute the Court is not thereby reduced below eleven, the Rules

of the Court may provide for allowing one or more judges, according to circumstances and in rotation, to be dispensed from sitting.

3. A quorum of nine judges shall suffice to constitute the Court.

ARTICLE 26

1. The Court may from time to time form one or more chambers, composed of three or more judges as the Court may determine, for dealing with particular categories of cases; for example, labor cases and cases relating to transit and communications.

2. The Court may at any time form a chamber for dealing with a particular case. The number of judges to constitute such a chamber shall be determined by the Court with the approval of the parties.

3. Cases shall be heard and determined by the chambers provided for in this Article if the parties so request.

ARTICLE 27

A judgment given by any of the chambers provided for in Articles 26 and 29 shall be considered as rendered by the Court.

ARTICLE 28

The chambers provided for in Articles 26 and 29 may, with the consent of the parties, sit and exercise their functions elsewhere than at The Hague.

ARTICLE 29

With a view to the speedy despatch of business, the Court shall form annually a chamber composed of five judges which, at the request of the parties, may hear and determine cases by summary procedure. In addition, two judges shall be selected for the purpose of replacing judges who find it impossible to sit.

ARTICLE 30

1. The Court shall frame rules for carrying out its functions. In particular, it shall lay down rules of procedure.

2. The Rules of the Court may provide for assessors to sit with the Court or with any of its chambers, without the right to vote.

ARTICLE 31

1. Judges of the nationality of each of the parties shall retain their right to sit in the case before the Court.

2. If the Court includes upon the Bench a judge of the nationality of one of the parties, any other party may choose a person to sit as judge. Such person shall be chosen preferably from among those persons who have been nominated as candidates as provided in Articles 4 and 5.

3. If the Court includes upon the Bench no judge of the nationality of the parties, each of these parties may proceed to choose a judge as provided in paragraph 2 of this Article.

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4. The provisions of this Article shall apply to the case of Articles 26 and 29. In such cases, the President shall request one or, if necessary, two of the members of the Court forming the chamber to give place to the members of the Court of the nationality of the parties concerned, and, failing such, or if they are unable to be present, to the judges specially chosen by the parties.

5. Should there be several parties in the same interest, they shall, for the purpose of the preceding provisions, be reckoned as one party only. Any doubt upon this point shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

6. Judges chosen as laid down in paragraphs 2, 3, and 4 of this Article shall fulfil the conditions required by Articles 2, 17 (paragraph 2), 20, and 24 of the present Statute. They shall take part in the decision on terms of complete equality with their colleagues.

ARTICLE 32

1. Each member of the Court shall receive an annual salary.

2. The President shall receive a special annual allowance.

3. The Vice-President shall receive a special allowance for every day on which he acts as President.

4. The judges chosen under Article 31, other than members of the Court, shall receive compensation for each day on which they exercise their functions.

5. These salaries, allowances, and compensation shall be fixed by the General Assembly. They may not be decreased during the term of office.

6. The salary of the Registrar shall be fixed by the General Assembly on the proposal of the Court.

7. Regulations made by the General Assembly shall fix the conditions under which retirement pensions may be given to members of the Court and to the Registrar, and the conditions under which members of the Court and the Registrar shall have their traveling expenses refunded.

8. The above salaries, allowances, and compensation shall be free of all taxation.

ARTICLE 33

The expenses of the Court shall be borne by the United Nations in such a manner as shall be decided by the General Assembly.

CHAPTER II. COMPETENCE OF THE COURT

ARTICLE 34

1. Only states may be parties in cases before the Court.

2. The Court, subject to and in conformity with its Rules, may request of public international organizations information relevant to cases before it, and shall receive such information presented by such organizations on their own initiative.

3. Whenever the construction of the constituent instrument of a public international organization or of an international convention adopted thereunder is in question in a case before the Court, the Registrar shall so notify the public international organization concerned and shall communicate to it copies of all the written proceedings.

ARTICLE 35

1. The Court shall be open to the states parties to the present Statute.

2. The conditions under which the Court shall be open to other states shall, subject to the special provisions contained in treaties in force, be laid down by the Security Council, but in no case shall such conditions place the parties in a position of inequality before the Court.

3. When a state which is not a Member of the United Nations is a party to a case, the Court shall fix the amount which that party is to contribute towards the expenses of the Court. This provision shall not apply if such state is bearing a share of the expenses of the Court.

ARTICLE 36

1. The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in the Charter of the United Nations or in treaties and conventions in force.

2. The states parties to the present Statute may at any time declare that they recognize as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special agreement, in relation to any other state accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all legal disputes concerning:

- a. the interpretation of a treaty;
- b. any question of international law;
- c. the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
- d. the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

3. The declarations referred to above may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain states, or for a certain time.

4. Such declarations shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall transmit copies thereof to the parties to the Statute and to the Registrar of the Court.

5. Declarations made under Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and which are still in force shall be deemed, as between the parties to the present Statute, to be acceptances of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice for the period which they still have to run and in accordance with their terms.

6. In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

ARTICLE 37

Whenever a treaty or convention in force provides for reference of a matter to a tribunal to have been instituted by the League of Nations, or to the Permanent Court of International Justice, the matter shall, as between the parties to the present Statute, be referred to the International Court of Justice.

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ARTICLE 38

1. The Court, whose function is to decide in accordance with international law such disputes as are submitted to it, shall apply—
 - a. international conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting states;
 - b. international custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law;
 - c. the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations;
 - d. subject to the provisions of Article 59, judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law.
2. This provision shall not prejudice the power of the Court to decide a case *ex aequo et bono*, if the parties agree thereto.

CHAPTER III. PROCEDURE

ARTICLE 39

1. The official languages of the Court shall be French and English. If the parties agree that the case shall be conducted in French, the judgment shall be delivered in French. If the parties agree that the case shall be conducted in English, the judgment shall be delivered in English.
2. In the absence of an agreement as to which language shall be employed, each party may, in the pleadings, use the language which it prefers; the decision of the Court shall be given in French and English. In this case the Court shall at the same time determine which of the two texts shall be considered as authoritative.
3. The Court shall, at the request of any party, authorize a language other than French or English to be used by that party.

ARTICLE 40

1. Cases are brought before the Court, as the case may be, either by the notification of the special agreement or by a written application addressed to the Registrar. In either case the subject of the dispute and the parties shall be indicated.
2. The Registrar shall forthwith communicate the application to all concerned.
3. He shall also notify the Members of the United Nations through the Secretary-General, and also any other states entitled to appear before the Court.

ARTICLE 41

1. The Court shall have the power to indicate, if it considers that circumstances so require, any provisional measures which ought to be taken to preserve the respective rights of either party.
2. Pending the final decision, notice of the measures suggested shall forthwith be given to the parties and to the Security Council.

ARTICLE 42

1. The parties shall be represented by agents.
2. They may have the assistance of counsel or advocates before the Court.

3. The agents, counsel, and advocates of parties before the Court shall enjoy the privileges and immunities necessary to the independent exercise of their duties.

ARTICLE 43

1. The procedure shall consist of two parts: written and oral.

2. The written proceedings shall consist of the communication to the Court and to the parties of memorials, counter-memorials, and, if necessary, replies; also all papers and documents in support.

3. These communications shall be made through the Registrar, in the order and within the time fixed by the Court.

4. A certified copy of every document produced by one party shall be communicated to the other party.

5. The oral proceedings shall consist of the hearing by the Court of witnesses, experts, agents, counsel, and advocates.

ARTICLE 44

1. For the service of all notices upon persons other than the agents, counsel, and advocates, the Court shall apply direct to the government of the state upon whose territory the notice has to be served.

2. The same provision shall apply whenever steps are to be taken to procure evidence on the spot.

ARTICLE 45

The hearing shall be under the control of the President or, if he is unable to preside, of the Vice-President; if neither is able to preside, the senior judge present shall preside.

ARTICLE 46

The hearing in Court shall be public, unless the Court shall decide otherwise, or unless the parties demand that the public be not admitted.

ARTICLE 47

1. Minutes shall be made at each hearing and signed by the Registrar and the President.

2. These minutes alone shall be authentic.

ARTICLE 48

The Court shall make orders for the conduct of the case, shall decide the form and time in which each party must conclude its arguments, and make all arrangements connected with the taking of evidence.

ARTICLE 49

The Court may, even before the hearing begins, call upon the agents to produce any document or to supply any explanations. Formal note shall be taken of any refusal.

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ARTICLE 50

The Court may, at any time, entrust any individual, body, bureau, commission, or other organization that it may select, with the task of carrying out an enquiry or giving an expert opinion.

ARTICLE 51

During the hearing any relevant questions are to be put to the witnesses and experts under the conditions laid down by the Court in the rules of procedure referred to in Article 30.

ARTICLE 52

After the Court has received the proofs and evidence within the time specified for the purpose, it may refuse to accept any further oral or written evidence that one party may desire to present unless the other side consents.

ARTICLE 53

1. Whenever one of the parties does not appear before the Court, or fails to defend its case, the other party may call upon the Court to decide in favor of its claim.

2. The Court must, before doing so, satisfy itself, not only that it has jurisdiction in accordance with Articles 36 and 37, but also that the claim is well founded in fact and law.

ARTICLE 54

1. When, subject to the control of the Court, the agents, counsel, and advocates have completed their presentation of the case, the President shall declare the hearing closed.

2. The Court shall withdraw to consider the judgment.

3. The deliberations of the Court shall take place in private and remain secret.

ARTICLE 55

1. All questions shall be decided by a majority of the judges present.

2. In the event of an equality of votes, the President or the judge who acts in his place shall have a casting vote.

ARTICLE 56

1. The judgment shall state the reasons on which it is based.

2. It shall contain the names of the judges who have taken part in the decision.

ARTICLE 57

If the judgment does not represent in whole or in part the unanimous opinion of the judges, any judge shall be entitled to deliver a separate opinion.

ARTICLE 58

The judgment shall be signed by the President and by the Registrar. It shall be read in open court, due notice having been given to the agents.

ARTICLE 59

The decision of the Court has no binding force except between the parties and in respect of that particular case.

ARTICLE 60

The judgement is final and without appeal. In the event of dispute as to the meaning or scope of the judgment, the Court shall construe it upon the request of any party.

ARTICLE 61

1. An application for revision of a judgment may be made only when it is based upon the discovery of some fact of such a nature as to be a decisive factor, which fact was, when the judgment was given, unknown to the Court and also to the party claiming revision, always provided that such ignorance was not due to negligence.

2. The proceedings for revision shall be opened by a judgment of the Court expressly recording the existence of the new fact, recognizing that it has such a character as to lay the case open to revision, and declaring the application admissible on this ground.

3. The Court may require previous compliance with the terms of the judgment before it admits proceedings in revision.

4. The application for revision must be made at latest within six months of the discovery of the new fact.

5. No application for revision may be made after the lapse of ten years from the date of the judgment.

ARTICLE 62

1. Should a state consider that it has an interest of a legal nature which may be affected by the decision in the case, it may submit a request to the Court to be permitted to intervene.

2. It shall be for the Court to decide upon this request.

ARTICLE 63

1. Whenever the construction of a convention to which states other than those concerned in the case are parties is in question, the Registrar shall notify all such states forthwith.

2. Every state so notified has the right to intervene in the proceedings; but if it uses this right, the construction given by the judgment will be equally binding upon it.

ARTICLE 64

Unless otherwise decided by the Court, each party shall bear its own costs.

B File

CHAPTER IV. ADVISORY OPINIONS

ARTICLE 65

1. The Court may give an advisory opinion on any legal question at the request of what ever body may be authorized by or in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations to make such a request.

2. Questions upon which the advisory opinion of the Court is asked shall be laid before the Court by means of a written request containing an exact statement of the question upon which an opinion is required, and accompanied by all documents likely to throw light upon the question.

ARTICLE 66

1. The Registrar shall forthwith give notice of the request for an advisory opinion to all states entitled to appear before the Court.

2. The Registrar shall also, by means of a special and direct communication, notify any state entitled to appear before the Court or international organization considered by the Court, or, should it not be sitting, by the President, as likely to be able to furnish information on the question, that the Court will be prepared to receive, within a time limit to be fixed by the President, written statements, or to hear, at a public sitting to be held for the purpose, oral statements relating to the question.

3. Should any such state entitled to appear before the Court have failed to receive the special communication referred to in paragraph 2 of this Article, such state may express a desire to submit a written statement or to be heard; and the Court will decide.

4. States and organizations having presented written or oral statements or both shall be permitted to comment on the statements made by other states or organizations in the form, to the extent, and within the time limits which the Court, or, should it not be sitting, the President, shall decide in each particular case. Accordingly, the Registrar shall in due time communicate any such written statements to states and organizations having submitted similar statements.

ARTICLE 67

The Court shall deliver its advisory opinions in open court, notice having been given to the Secretary-General and to the representatives of Members of the United Nations, of other states and of international organizations immediately concerned.

ARTICLE 68

In the exercise of its advisory functions the Court shall further be guided by the provisions of the present Statute which apply in contentious cases to the extent to which it recognizes them to be applicable.

CHAPTER V. AMENDMENT

ARTICLE 69

Amendments to the present Statute shall be effected by the same procedure as is provided by the Charter of the United Nations for amendments to that Charter, subject however to any provisions which the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council may adopt concerning the participation of states which are parties to the present Statute but are not Members of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 70

The Court shall have power to propose such amendments to the present Statute as it may deem necessary, through written communications to the Secretary-General, for consideration in conformity with the provisions of Article 69.

For China:

VI-KYUIN WELLINGTON KOO
WANG CHUNG-HUI
WEI TAO-MING
WU YI-FANG
LI HWANG
CHUN-MAI CARSON CHANG
TUNG PI-WU
HU LIN

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

A GROMYKO
A LAVRENTIEV
K NOVIKOV
S. TSARAPKIN
S GOLUNSKY
S KRYLOV
RODIONOV

For the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:

HALIFAX.
CRANBORNE.

For the United States of America:

E R STETTINIUS, JR
CORDELL HULL
TOM CONNALLY
A H VANDENBERG
SOL. BLOOM
CHARLES A. EATON.
HAROLD E STASSEN
VIRGINIA C. GILDERSLEEVE

For France:

J. PAUL-BONCOUR

For Argentina:

M CÁRCANO
O IBARRA G.
JUAN CARLOS BASSI
A D BRUNET

B F I C

For Australia:

F. M. FORDE.

H. V. EVATT.

For the Kingdom of Belgium:

A. E. DE SCHRYVER

For Bolivia:

V. ANDRADE

C. SALAMANCA F.

E. ARZE Q.

For Brazil:

P. LEÃO VELLOSO

C. DE FREITAS VALLE.

GEN. ESTEVAO LEITAO DE CARVALHO

A. CAMILLO DE OLIVEIRA

DR. BERTRA LUTZ

For the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic:

K. KISELEV

A. ZHEBRUK

V. PERTSEV

G. BAIDAKOV

F. SHMYGAY

For Canada:

W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

LOUIS. S. ST. LAURENT

For Chile:

JOAQUÍN FERNÁNDEZ F.

MARCIAL MORA M.

JOSÉ MAZA

GABRIEL GONZÁLEZ.

CONTRERAS LABARCA

F. NIETO DEL RÍO

E. ALCALDE C.

GERMÁN VERGARA.

JULIO ESCUDERO.

For Colombia:

ALBERTO LLERAS

AL. GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ

EDUARDO ZULETA ANGEL.

SILVIO VILLEGAS

JESÚS M. YEPES.

For Costa Rica:

JULIO ACOSTA

J. RAFAEL OREAMUNO

For Cuba:

GMO BELT

ERNESTO DIRIGO

For Czechoslovakia:

JAN MASARYK.

For Denmark:

HENRIK KAUFFMANN

HARTVIG FRISCH

E. HUSFELDT

For the Dominican Republic:

M. PEÑA BATLLE
EMILIO G. GODOY
GILBERTO SANCHEZ LUSTRINO
T. FRANCO F.
MINERVA BERNARDINO

For Ecuador:

C. PONCE ENRIQUEZ
GALO PLAZA
C. TOBAR ZALDUMBIDE

For Egypt:

A. BADAWI.
IB. HADI

For El Salvador:

HÉCTOR DAVID CASTRO
CARLOS LEIVA, M. D.

For Ethiopia:

AKLILU H.
AMBAYE W.
EPHREM T. MEDHEN

For Greece:

J. A. SOFIANOPOULOS

For Guatemala:

GUILLERMO TORIELLO
M. NORIEGA M.
E. SILVA PEÑA

For Haiti:

GERARD LESCOT
A. LIAUTAUD

For Honduras:

JULIÁN R. CÁCERES
MARCOS CARIAS REYES
VIRGILIO R. GALVEZ

For India:

A. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR.
V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI

For Iran:

MOSTAFA ADLF

For Iraq:

MOHD. FADHEL JAMALI

For Lebanon:

W. NAIM
A. YAFI
SALEM.
CHARLES MALIK

For Liberia:

C. L. SIMPSON
GABRIEL L. DENNIS
J. LEMUEL GIBSON
RICHARD HENRIES
M. N. GRANT

B File

For the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg:

HUGHES LE GALLAIS

For Mexico:

E. PADILLA

F. CASTILLO Nájera

MANUEL TELLO.

For the Kingdom of the Netherlands:

A. LOUDON

For New Zealand:

PETER FRASER.

C. A. BERENDSEN

For Nicaragua:

MARIANO ARGUELLO

LUIS MANUEL DE BAYLE

For the Kingdom of Norway:

WILHELM MUNTHE MORGENTIERNE

For Panama:

ROBERTO JIMÉNEZ

For Paraguay:

CELSO R. VELÁZQUEZ

J. B. AYALA

For Peru:

MANUEL C. GALLAGHER

V. A. BELAUNDE

LUIS FERNÁN CISNEROS.

For the Philippine Commonwealth:

CARLOS P. ROMULO

FRANCISCO A. DELGADO.

For Poland:

For Saudi Arabia:

FAISAL

For Syria:

F. AL-KHOURI

N. ANTAKI

N. KOUDSI

For Turkey:

HASAN SAKA

HUSEYIN RAGIP BAYDUR

FERIDUN CEMAL ERKIN

For the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic:

DM. MANUILSKY

IVAN SENIN

ALEXANDER PALLADIN

MIKOLA PETROVSKY

For the Union of South Africa:

J. C. SMUTS F. M.

For Uruguay:

JOSÉ SERRATO
JACOBO VARELA
HÉCTOR LUISI
CY GIAMBRUNO
JUAN F. GUICHÓN
HÉCTOR PAYSSÉ REYES

For Venezuela:

C. PARRA PÉREZ
GUSTAVO HERRERA
A. MACHADO HNDZ
R. ERNESTO LÓPEZ

For Yugoslavia:

STANOJE SIMIĆ

I CERTIFY THAT the foregoing is a true copy of the Charter of the United Nations, with the Statute of the International Court of Justice annexed thereto, signed in San Francisco, Calif., on June 26, 1945, in the Chinese, French, Russian, English, and Spanish languages, the signed original of which is deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary of State, have hereunto caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed and my name subscribed by an Assistant Chief, Division of Central Services of the said Department, at the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, this twenty-sixth day of June 1945.

E. R. STETTINIUS, Jr.,
Secretary of State.

[SEAL]

By M. L. KENESTRICK,
Assistant Chief, Division of Central Services.

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7-30-45

FILE MEMO:

This message was requested by
Mr. Eichelberger in a personal interview
with Mr. Connelly.

EW



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

White House

Mr. Hassett

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 8, 1945

MEMORANDUM:

Mr. Whittington of the Treaty

Division, Department of State, Branch 727,
says the ratification of the United Nations

Charter will be over for the President's
signature very shortly today, just as soon
as it clears the Secretary's office. They
hope that it can be presented to the Pres-
ident today, and he asks that he be noti-
fied just as soon as it has been signed.



W. J. H.

DRAFT STATEMENT FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE
UNITED NATIONS.

The ratification of the Charter of the United Nations by the Senate is not so much an end as a beginning. The Senate has done its work, and done it wisely and promptly and with courage. It remains now for the people of the United States to see to it that the Charter works in so far as it lies within their power to make it work. Only if they understand what the Charter is and what it can mean to the peace of the world will the document become a living human reality. We must all hope that the people of this country and the peoples of the rest of the United Nations will inform themselves of the possibilities which the Charter opens to them and will make the Organization of the United Nations their common instrument to achieve their common purpose. Organizations and individuals working toward the fullest possible understanding of the Charter of the United Nations deserve the gratitude and support of all of us.

A-M/AMaCL/tb

PEACE ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, INC.

(Formerly The League of Nations Association, Inc.)

Research Affiliate

COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE

Field 9-3000

National Headquarters: 45 EAST 65TH STREET,
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

August 6, 1945

Mr. Matthew Connolly
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Connolly:

I have been trying to reach you over the telephone
to thank you personally for the fine message from President
Truman which arrived just in time and has given us great
encouragement.

Faithfully yours,

Clark M. Eicholberg

Clark M. Eicholberg

me:la

OFFICERS

Honorary Vice Presidents:
MRS. CAROL CHURMAN CASE
JOHN W. DAVIS
MICHAEL FRANK DOYLE

GRACE FREDERICK BART
LOUIS FINKELSTEIN
FRANK J. HALL
MARIE G. HUBBARD

THOMAS MARRING
FRANCIS J. MCGINNIS
MR. DONALD MURPHY
RAYMOND NORTON

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington.

July 30, 1945

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CLARK EICHELBERGER
THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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THE RATIFICATION OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS BY THE SENATE IS NOT SO MUCH AN END AS A BEGINNING. THE SENATE HAS DONE ITS WORK, AND DONE IT WISELY AND PROMPTLY AND WITH COURAGE. IT REMAINS NOW FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES TO SEE TO IT THAT THE CHARTER WORKS IN SO FAR AS IT LIES WITHIN THEIR POWER TO MAKE IT WORK. ONLY IF THEY UNDERSTAND WHAT THE CHARTER IS AND WHAT IT CAN MEAN TO THE PEACE OF THE WORLD WILL THE DOCUMENT BECOME A LIVING HUMAN REALITY. WE MUST ALL HOPE THAT THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLES OF THE REST OF THE UNITED NATIONS WILL INFORM THEMSELVES OF THE POSSIBILITIES WHICH THE CHARTER OPENS TO THEM AND WILL MAKE THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS THEIR COMMON INSTRUMENT TO ACHIEVE THEIR COMMON PURPOSE. ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS WORKING TOWARD THE FULLEST POSSIBLE UNDERSTANDING OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS DESERVE THE GRATITUDE AND SUPPORT OF ALL OF US.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

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December 7, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CONNELLY

SUBJECT: Request of the Dublin Conference Committee
for an Interview with the President

I see no objection to the President's granting an interview to the Committee. I would suggest that if he does grant an interview his discussion with the Committee be along the following general lines:

The United States Government is firmly committed to the policy of making the United Nations Organization work. When the ~~United Nations Charter~~ was adopted at San Francisco it was frequently pointed out that the Charter was a living and dynamic document, with sufficient flexibility to respond to changing world conditions. We feel that we would want to consider possible amendments in the light of experience gained through the activities of the Organization and in light of concrete problems calling for solution rather than to take them up even before the United Nations Organization has begun to function.

Meanwhile, organizations such as the Dublin Conference Committee can perform a very important service by stimulating public thinking on the whole question of international organization. It is to be hoped that while advocating such changes as they think appropriate they will not fail to stress the importance of wholehearted support for the United Nations Organization, which is the only practicable means of getting started now along the road of organized international activity to prevent war.

Enclosure:

Letter from
Mr. Cranston returned.



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for President

THE DUBLIN CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

November 21, 1945

The President
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Alan Cranston, Chairman
120 C St., N. E.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

As Chairman of the "Dublin Conference Committee," I enclose a printed copy of the "Declaration of the Dublin Conference" adopted October 16, 1945.

You will note that the Conference concluded that the present United Nations Charter is "inadequate and behind the times," and that a "World Federal Government with limited but definite powers to prevent war" is required.

It was the opinion of the Conference that the effort to this end should be by way of fundamental amendments to the Charter, any other approach to be resorted to only if the effort to amend should fail.

The "Dublin Conference Committee" was appointed to forward the conclusions of the Conference. It is composed mostly of veterans of this war. We are in deadly earnest that World Government is needed now to prevent another and even worse war. We propose now to prepare definite proposed amendments of the Charter in harmony with the Dublin Declaration, with the purpose of bringing those amendments to public attention here and abroad.

We should much like an opportunity to present our position to you in person. We shall be asking soon for the privilege of an appointment with you on behalf of a small delegation and hope that you can see us.

With great respect, I am

Sincerely yours,

Alan Cranston,
Chairman



B. H. H.

Sawyer P. 10021
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
December 17, 1945
12.45

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERTA:

Mr. Al Kranston's office called and gave me these names for the appointment at 12:45 Friday, December twenty-first.

- X {
1. Cord Meyer, Jr. Formerly U.S.M.C.R. Was wounded on Guam. From Massachusetts.
 2. Michael Straight. Formerly A.A.F. Author and editor of New York.
 3. Norman Cousins. Author and Editor of Connecticut.
 4. J.F. Finletter. Lawyer and author of New York
 5. Ulrich Bell. Newspaper man and author of New York.

S.

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THE DUBLIN CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

[APPOINTED TO FORWARD THE PROPOSALS FOR A WORLD
GOVERNMENT—IF POSSIBLE BY AMENDING THE UNITED
NATIONS CHARTER—AS STATED IN THE DUBLIN DECLARATION,
ADOPTED 71 DAYS AFTER HIROSHIMA.]

ALAN CRANSTON,
CHAIRMAN,
120 G STREET, N. E.,
WASHINGTON (2), D. C.
TEL. FRANKLIN 1443

December 17, 1945

Hon. Matthew Connolly
White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Connolly:

I am very grateful for the opportunity afforded
representatives of the Dublin Conference Committee to
meet with President Truman on Friday, December 21, at
12:45.

The following people will come, in addition to
myself:

Cord Meyer, Jr., formerly USMCH, who was
wounded on Guam, of Massachusetts.

Michael Straight, formerly AAP, author and
editor, of New York.


Norman Cousins, author and editor, of Connec-
ticut.

Thomas K. Finletter, lawyer and author, of New
York.

Ulric Bell, newspaperman and author, of New
York.

Again appreciating your cooperation,

Faithfully yours,


Alan Cranston,
Chairman

November 26, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR: HON. JAMES F. BYRNES
Secretary of State.

I am enclosing herewith a letter addressed to the President by Mr. Alan Cranston, in which he requests that the President see the Dublin Conference Committee. Before acknowledging this communication I would appreciate it very much if you will be good enough to let me have your advice.

Thank you.

MATTHEW J. CONNELLY
Secretary to the President.

rlk
Encl.

letter Nov. 21 to the President from Alan Cranston, Chairman, Dublin Conference Committee, 120 G St., N.W., Wash., D.C., with enclosure of declarations. Wants the President to see Committee.



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get info on
Hans. Brown state
Dept -



WASHINGTON
THE WHITE HOUSE

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 29, 1946

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Obligations of the United States
Under Article 73(e) of the Charter.

Under Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations, the Members of the United Nations, including the United States, have accepted certain obligations with regard to territories "whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government". One of these obligations, stated in Article 73(e), is:

"to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible"...

The Resolution on Non-Self-Governing Peoples adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its session in London emphasizes that the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter are already in force. Under this resolution the General Assembly also requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations to include in his annual report on the work of the Organization, as provided for in Article 98 of the Charter, a statement summarizing information transmitted to him by Members of the United Nations under Article 73(e).

Both in San Francisco and at the General Assembly in London representatives of the United States played leading roles in emphasizing the importance of the "Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories" which forms Chapter XI of the Charter. It therefore appears to the Department of State that the United States

Government

- 2 -

Government will wish to fulfill expeditiously and in an exemplary manner the provisions of the Charter relating to the forwarding of information on non-self-governing territories. It is my belief that the record of the United States in the administration of its territories and island possessions is a credit to this Government and that a full statement of this record can only enhance its international prestige. It is clear, of course, that the transmission of information by this Government with respect to its territories and island possessions will in no wise alter the present legal status of these areas nor in any way diminish the responsibility of this Government for their administration.

In order to fulfill adequately the immediate responsibility of the United States Government under Article 73(e) of the Charter, the Department of State, on behalf of this Government, should transmit to the Secretary-General, on or about August 1, 1946, information on the non-self-governing territories of the United States. This will give the Secretary-General an opportunity to refer to this and similar information from other states in his report to the General Assembly at its meeting in September, 1946. x25-8

To this end I have informed the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Interior that I would be pleased to receive from them on or about July 15, 1946, statistical and other non-military information of a technical character relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the non-self-governing territories and island possessions of the United States for which their Departments are respectively responsible. In my letter to the Secretary of the Interior I have stated: "In forwarding such information to the Secretary-General, it will be made clear that this action is taken in full recognition of the large measure of self-government already attained by the inhabitants of certain of these territories and without prejudice to such modification of their status as may be effected by joint action of the people of the territories and the Congress of the United States." x27.5
x18
x6

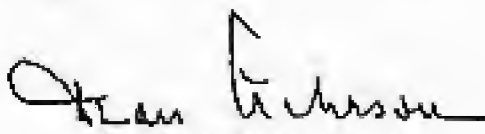
It is my view that through the cooperative efforts of the four Departments the international obligations

of this



- 3 -

of this Government under Article 73(s) of the Charter can be adequately fulfilled and that full advantage can be taken of this opportunity to make known to the world the record of American achievements in administration of dependent areas.


Acting Secretary
xpd



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E.O. 12065, Sec. 3-402

State Dept. Guidelines, March 6, 1982

By DER NLT, Date 6-17-85~~SECRET~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~RESTRICTED~~ ~~UNCLASSIFIED~~

May 23, 1952

Working Paper for Executive 1 of Disarmament Commission
Setting Forth Proposals for Fixing Numerical Limitations
of All Armed Forces

A. Introduction:

1. Paragraph 3 of the General Assembly Resolution of January 11, 1948

"Directs the Disarmament Commission to prepare proposals to be embodied in a draft treaty (or treaties) for the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments, for the elimination of all major weapons adaptable to mass destruction, and for the effective international control of atomic energy to ensure the prohibition of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only."

2. Paragraph 6 of the Resolution

"Directs the Commission, in working out plans for the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments;

(a) To determine how overall limits and restrictions on all armed forces and all armaments can be calculated and fixed;

(b) To consider methods according to which States can agree by negotiation among themselves, under the auspices of the Commission, concerning the determination of the overall limits and restrictions referred to in sub-paragraph (a) above and the allocation within their respective national military establishments of the permitted national armed forces and armaments."

3. The present working paper presents a plan for the determination of overall numerical limitations on the size of the armed forces of states.

Obviously some overall limitations on the size of the armed forces of states are an essential part of any comprehensive plan for the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of armed forces and armaments. The working paper is not intended to exclude, but to facilitate the development of other essential components which must be included in what the preamble of the General Assembly

Resolution refers to as "comprehensive and co-ordinated plans, under"

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/International

international control, for the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and armaments, for the elimination of all major weapons adaptable to mass destruction, and for the effective control of atomic energy to ensure the prohibition of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes" including "safeguards that will ensure the compliance of all . . . nations." Proposals have already been submitted on certain other essential components, i.e., the control of atomic energy and disclosure and verification of all armed forces and armaments. By submitting this working paper and focusing attention on another component we hope to facilitate progress toward an agreed comprehensive program.

B. Standards for Determining Numerical Limitations of all Armed Forces

4. In fixing numerical limitations on the armed forces of states a number of factors, demographic, geographic, political and economic, have to be considered. The Charter responsibilities of states and the need of balanced power relationships among states must also be taken into account. There is no one automatic formula which can be inflexibly applied in all cases. The objective must be to reduce the possibility and the fear of successful aggression and to avoid a disequilibrium of power dangerous to international peace and security.

5. The following working formula is suggested as a basis of discussion.

a. There should be fixed numerical ceilings for the USSR, USA, China, United Kingdom and France, which should be worked out with a view to avoiding a disequilibrium of power dangerous to international peace and security, among themselves or with other states, and thus minimizing the danger of war. It is tentatively suggested that the maximum ceilings for the USSR, USA and China should be the same and fixed at, say between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 and the maximum ceilings for the United Kingdom and France should be the same and fixed at, say, between 700,000 and 800,000.

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b. There

b. For all other states having substantial armed forces there should be agreed maximum ceilings, fixed in relation to the ceilings agreed upon for the Five Powers. Such ceilings should be determined with a view to avoiding a disequilibrium of power dangerous to international peace and security in any area of the world, and thus minimizing the danger of war. The ceilings to be aimed at would normally be less than one percent of the population. Moreover, they should be less than current levels except in very special circumstances.

C. Significance of Overall Numerical Limitations

6. While a nation's armed forces are not the only measure of its armed strength, and other elements of armed strength will have to be considered in any comprehensive program for the balanced reduction of armed forces and armaments, nevertheless a numerical limitation on armed forces is a major element in any such program for the following reasons:

a. All armaments programs depend upon manpower and therefore must to a greater or less degree be affected by limitations on permitted armed forces.

b. A substantial reduction of armed forces as here suggested in itself would tend to reduce the likelihood of successful aggression.

c. Agreement on a substantial and balanced reduction of armed forces minimizing the likelihood and fear of successful aggression should greatly facilitate agreement reducing and restricting the armaments supporting these armed forces.

D. Implementation of Proposals for Numerical Limitations of All Armed Forces

7. In determining the numbers in the armed forces, all kinds of armed forces, including para-military and security forces must be included.

8. Adequate provision must be made to insure that the maximum limitation on armed forces is not circumvented through building up large forces of trained

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reserves

reserves or militarily trained police.

9. This system must be accepted by all states, whether or not Members of the United Nations, whose military resources are such that their failure to accept would endanger the system.

10. There should be adequate safeguards throughout the process of reduction to ensure that limitations are put into effect and observed as agreed and that violations can be promptly detected.

11. The implementation of the reductions should be closely related to progress in connection with other phases of the program for regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of armed forces and armaments, such as the control of atomic energy and the system of progressive and continuing disclosure and verification.

12. The reduction should be carried through in a manner and in accordance with a time schedule prescribed by the international control organ and should be completed within the shortest possible time after its commencement.

13. In the future, further numerical limitation of permitted armed forces would be contemplated as substantial progress is achieved toward the easing of international tensions, and the agreed ceilings could be subject to review at stated intervals.

14. The proposed limitations -- including their relationship to other components of the program for regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of armed forces and armaments and the elimination of weapons adaptable to mass destruction -- should be comprehended within the treaty or treaties required under Paragraph 3 of the General Assembly Resolution of January 11, 1952.

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

UNITED NATIONS DAY, 1952

3909
JULY 17, 1952

United Nations

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS the founding of the United Nations has given the people of the world an organization through which nations may resolve their differences without resort to war and has made possible greater international cooperation in the economic, political, and cultural fields; and

WHEREAS the United Nations continues to be the only existing international organ which offers mankind a hope for ultimate world peace; and

WHEREAS the realization by citizens of other nations that the overwhelming majority of Americans support the United Nations and its great purposes would help to speed the day when there will in fact be peace on earth, good will toward men; and

WHEREAS the General Assembly of the United Nations has declared that October 24, the anniversary of the entry into force of the United Nations Charter, shall be dedicated each year to the dissemination of information concerning the aims and accomplishments of the United Nations:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, HARRY S. TRUMAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby urge the citizens of this Nation to observe Friday, October 24, 1952, as United Nations Day by sending greetings to friends, relatives, and associates in other countries which are members of the United Nations, and by expressing their confidence in the United Nations, their friendship for other peoples, and their faith in the ultimate demonstration throughout the world of the brotherhood of man.

I also call upon the officials of the Federal, State, and local Governments, the National Citizens' Committee for United Nations Day, representatives of civic, educational, and religious organizations, agencies of the press, radio, television, motion pictures, and other communications media, and all citizens to cooperate in appropriate observance of this day throughout our country.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this seventeenth day of July
in the year of our Lord
nineteen hundred and fifty-two,
and of the Independence of the
United States of America the
one hundred and seventy-seventh.

(SEAL)

HARRY S. TRUMAN



By the President:

DEAN ACHESON

Secretary of State

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR FOR MUTUAL SECURITY
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

September 25, 1952

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. James S. Lay
Executive Director, National Security Council

From: Lincoln Gordon
Assistant Director for Policy and Planning

Subject: Analysis of the United Nations Economic Commission for
Europe's Review of First Quarter of 1952.

Lincoln Gordon

In accordance with the request of the President transmitted through you, I am attaching hereto a brief analysis of the document referred to above. The analysis was prepared in the first instance by the Office of the Assistant Director for Europe, Mutual Security Agency, and reviewed to take account of suggestions made in the Department of State and by this office.

In summary, the analysis shows that the ECE Report itself, and more particularly the newspaper accounts of the Report, have taken an unduly pessimistic view of Western European economic developments during the first few months of 1952. Although production as a whole did not continue to increase in the satisfactory manner which marked the Marshall Plan years, there was no serious rise in unemployment and production increases were maintained in the basic industries. There was some decline in the consumers' goods fields, especially textiles, but at least some portion of the decline was due to conversion to munitions production and some to desirable anti-inflationary measures of monetary and credit restriction.

It is not sound to characterize these trends as a serious economic slump; the ECE Report itself does not so describe them, and the newspaper accounts were in error on this point.

At the same time, there are very serious continuing economic problems in Western Europe. The most significant ones are: (a) the need for continued intensive effort to raise productivity, in order to support defense efforts, to provide for necessary domestic investment and higher living standards, and especially to improve Europe's competitive position in world markets; (b) continued weakness in the external balance-of-payments position, especially of the United Kingdom and France; and (c) the resumption of inflationary pressure in France, with its serious threat to M. Pinay's stabilization program.



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ANALYSIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS
ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE'S REVIEW OF FIRST QUARTER OF 1952

In its review of the first quarter of 1952 the Secretariat of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, which habitually takes a pessimistic view of Western European developments, has emphasized the unfavorable factors in the situation, and then highlighted its discussion of these factors. The press, in turn, especially in the AP and New York Times dispatches, seized upon the gloomier parts of the review, darkened the colors still further, and in certain cases added some new elements. The result is to produce a distorted impression, which is considerably more alarming than the true situation.

Total industrial production and employment have, generally speaking, failed to advance from the peak levels reached late in 1951, and in some cases have fallen slightly below these levels. Since the past few years have seen steady increases and further increases are required if the Western European economy is to meet successfully the demands upon it in the defense, investment, and consumer goods sections, a break in the upward movement is significant and if prolonged would be a cause of concern both in this country and in Europe. The ECE describes the situation by saying that production and employment "stagnated or fell," the Times report simply says "fell," while the Times headline speaks of a "slump."

In fact, industrial output in the first quarter of 1952 was maintained at a level only one percent below the all time high achieved in the final quarter of 1951 and was four percent higher than the output in the first quarter of 1951. Output of steel, coal and electricity were at an all time high. Total industrial output in the second quarter of 1952 continued on the high plateau of the first quarter.



Unemployment, although higher than the previous year, was small in absolute terms and employment was at the postwar peak. The report itself points out that unemployment increased only slightly and was in almost all countries still low by pre-war standards.

The statements, cited in the Times report, that the European economy is incapable of suppressing inflation without becoming stagnant, and that it is incapable of meeting demands for capital goods while devoting too many resources to the production of consumer goods, do not appear in the ECE report itself. The second statement is of course accurate, taken by itself, one of the major problems of Western Europe, as of the United States, being the difficulties and adjustments involved in superimposing defense production on civilian demand, especially for the products of heavy industry.

A somewhat more balanced interpretation of the economic trends in the first quarter of 1952 should probably start from the recognition of the following elements. In some respects the first quarter of 1952 can be considered as a period of adjustment and change. On the external side the inflationary pressures caused by rapid rise in raw materials prices right after Korea had about worn off, helping the European countries maintain internal price stability. The reduction of inflationary pressures and the changed economic outlook were reflected in a softening of demand for consumer goods and semi-durables which account for some of the decreases in production and a slight increase in unemployment, sufficient to offset in the production index the increases registered in coal, steel and other branches. In addition, the weakness exhibited in certain consumer goods markets, particularly textiles, to some extent reflected a temporary reaction to the post-Korea buying spree.



the decreases in civilian production have been fortuitous, resulting from elements beyond the control of the governments. For instance, some European countries may have over-estimated both the extent of U. S. military expenditures in Europe during the past fiscal year and the speed and magnitude of the offshore procurement contracts which would be placed by the United States. The continuing high rates of European imports from the dollar area during this period reflect in part exaggerated expectations as to the rate of dollar earnings and the requirements for raw materials. Consequently many of the raw materials have gone into stockpiles rather than immediate production.

Although the press reports of the ECE report convey an unduly pessimistic impression, this does not mean that there is reason for complacency about the economic situation in Western Europe. Western Europe is struggling, as it has been since the war, to meet the heavy demands on its economy. The new burden of rearmament has been added to earlier tasks of the Marshall Plan period which consisted of attempting to achieve a tolerable standard of living, maintain an adequate rate of investment, and bring the external accounts into balance, while avoiding inflation. A continuing rate of expansion is essential to meet these objectives.

The attempt to perform these tasks has in some cases produced severe strains, while in others, it has not been made with sufficient vigor. The United Kingdom has suffered a most serious payments crisis, losing \$2 billion of reserves, as the impact of accelerated rearmament coincided with a number of other unfavorable factors, including a period of greatly increased spending on imports by the overseas sterling countries. The drain of reserves has only recently been stemmed, with the help of MSA aid, but it has been necessary to stretch out the rearmament program.



In France, the government committed itself in 1950 to an armament program which was beyond its power to carry out, in view of the continuing heavy burdens of the war in Indo-China, the limited fiscal resources of France, and the precarious state of public confidence in the stability of the franc. The result was a further round of inflation, and a widening of the dollar gap. This crisis too has been checked and stability restored at least for the time being although the internal economic and balance-of-payments problems continue to be acute. Other countries have not encountered the same problems, but they have avoided them largely because they have not attempted to push up their defense outlays so sharply and they have also benefited from gold and dollar earnings through the EPU, resulting from the heavy British and French deficits.

In short, while the ECE review, and especially the press reports on it, present an excessively pessimistic picture, Western Europe is still beset by serious economic problems. The European governments, assisted by the United States, are attempting, with reasonable success, to grapple with these problems.



Secretary's
lesOFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE TO
SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

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Authority E.O. 10501

January 12, 1953

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT, THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Report by the Deputy United States Representative on
the United Nations Disarmament Commission.

Enclosed is a report by Ambassador Benjamin V. Cohen on the
work of the United Nations Disarmament Commission in 1952, with
particular reference to the role played by the United States.

There is also enclosed with the report a letter to you from
Ambassador Cohen submitting his resignation as Deputy United
States Representative on the United Nations Disarmament Commission
and as Alternate United States Representative to the Seventh Session
of the United Nations General Assembly.

Ambassador Cohen's efforts in the Disarmament Commission and
his presentation of the views of the United States have had the
wholehearted support and cooperation not only of the Department of
State but also of the Department of Defense, the United States
Atomic Energy Commission and the United States Mission to the
United Nations. Ambassador Cohen's report sets forth clearly the
record of United States' efforts in the Disarmament Commission,
whether individually or in cooperation with the United Kingdom
and France, to attain workable agreement on an effective and
comprehensive disarmament program. In the light of your efforts
in bringing about the creation of the United Nations Disarmament
Commission, I believe that this report will be of particular interest
to you.

Dean Rusk
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIVED
JAN 14 1953

Enclosures:

1. Letter of Resignation from Ambassador Cohen.
2. Report to the President.

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Secretary's
filesDEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 12, 1953

My dear Mr. President:

At your request I have served as Deputy United States Representative on the United Nations Disarmament Commission and have represented the United States at practically all the meetings of the Commission during the year 1952.

As the work of the Commission for the year is now concluded, I am submitting my resignation both as Deputy Representative on the Commission and as Alternate Representative of the United States to the Seventh Session of the General Assembly to become effective at your earliest convenience.

All of us who have worked on our disarmament proposals have been inspired in our work by the leadership you have taken in this field and by your continuing personal interest and support. We therefore felt that we should at this time make a report to you of the work of the Disarmament Commission and in particular of the efforts of the United States in close cooperation with other members of the Commission to carry out the mandate of the General Assembly in accordance with the spirit and principles of the Charter. The report is appended to this letter.

The statements and proposals which have been made on behalf of the United States in the Commission are the product of the joint efforts of the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the United States Mission to the United Nations. The tripartite proposals submitted on behalf of the United States, France and the United Kingdom represent the joint efforts of all three governments. The cooperation achieved within our Government and with friendly governments has made it possible for us to supply principles and proposals for an effective and comprehensive disarmament which may be realized in the future.



The President,

The White House.

Early in the deliberations of the Commission, the United States submitted a statement of essential principles for a disarmament program. These principles sought to relate the task of disarmament to the law of the Charter and to give effect and meaning to the basic Charter obligation of states to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the Charter. The goal of disarmament therefore must be not to regulate the armaments to be used in war, but to prevent war. To achieve this goal, all states have a responsibility to cooperate to establish and maintain an open and substantially disarmed world. In a substantially disarmed world no state should be in a condition of armed preparedness to start a war. In an open world no state should be in a position to undertake preparations for war without other states having knowledge of such preparedness long before the offending state could start a war. An effective disarmament program must reduce the danger of war and the fear of aggression.

But we did not confine our work in the Disarmament Commission to the submission of general principles. We submitted and joined in submitting a number of working papers which sought to suggest practical means and measures by which we might make a start in the development of a concrete and comprehensive disarmament program.

We submitted a working paper containing concrete suggestions for a continuing system of disclosure and verification which would embrace all armed forces and armaments including atomic. Such a system would provide the groundwork for effective safeguards and realistic controls to ensure that agreed disarmament would become actual disarmament.

In collaboration with France and the United Kingdom, we submitted proposals for fixing numerical limits on the armed forces of all states. The proposals, if accepted, would result in a substantial and balanced reduction of armed strength and lessen the likelihood and the danger of war. The initial reduction for the United States and the Soviet Union would be more than 50 percent.

In collaboration with France and the United Kingdom, we suggested practical procedures to prevent the undue concentration of permitted armed forces in particular categories of services, to limit armament in types and quantities to those necessary and appropriate for the support of permitted armed forces, and to bring all essential elements of the disarmament program into balanced relationship. Under these procedures it was contemplated



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that all armed forces and armaments other than those expressly permitted were to be eliminated, that all major weapons adaptable to mass destruction were to be excluded from permitted armaments, and that atomic energy was to be placed under effective international control to ensure its use for peaceful purposes only.

We reiterated our support of the United Nations plan for the control of atomic energy, but at the same time we reaffirmed our willingness to examine seriously and with an open mind any proposal for the effective control of atomic energy which might be presented.

Finally we suggested a plan for the elimination of bacteriological weapons and facilities for their production and use, within the framework of a comprehensive disarmament program. The plan would not rely on mere paper promises that such weapons will not be used, but would ensure that such weapons are not available for use.

We do not contend that the constructive proposals thus far presented to the Commission would solve all problems. The proposals were not intended to be final and definitive in terms or exhaustive in details. They were intended only to provide a basis for discussion and to open avenues by which we might approach understanding and agreement.

No one who has closely followed the proceedings of the Disarmament Commission can doubt that the United States and other free nations have sincerely and diligently sought to find practical ways and means of moving towards a disarmed world. Unfortunately, the Soviet representative on the Commission was unwilling or unable to discuss seriously any of the working papers submitted to the Commission or to make any constructive suggestions. The Soviet representative merely insisted that the Commission adopt the elusive phantom proposals, which the Soviet Union had first made in the General Assembly several years ago and which had been repeatedly rejected by the General Assembly. Yet he refused to give explanations or answer questions concerning these shadowy and elusive proposals. The Soviet Union endeavored from the very beginning of the Commission's deliberations to divert it from its important tasks by making monstrously false charges that the United Nations forces in Korea were waging bacteriological warfare. While continuing to reiterate these slanderous charges, the Soviet representative vetoed in the Security Council all efforts on our part to secure an impartial investigation of them.



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The Disarmament Commission cannot force disarmament agreements upon recalcitrant nations. It cannot bridge deep and fundamental differences by linguistic sleight of hand. Excessive zeal to obtain agreements which gloss over rather than resolve these differences may even increase the tensions and fears which stand in the way of necessary agreement. Until others are willing to disarm, the free and law-abiding nations of the world must maintain the armed strength necessary to deter aggression.

In spite of the obstructive tactics of the Soviet Union, the work of the Disarmament Commission during the past year contributed significantly to a better understanding of the disarmament problem, and we feel that the United States can take pride in its part in this work.

In the interest of world peace it is important to continue, through the Disarmament Commission and in every other way open to us, efforts to develop a better understanding of the problems of armaments and the significance of disarmament as a means of reducing the danger and fear of war. We are deeply convinced that with better understanding of these problems, the overwhelming common interest of all peoples in peace and the instinct of self-preservation will induce the statesmen of all nations to save their peoples from the horrors of war in the Twentieth Century. For as new instruments of warfare may be developed which would far surpass previous weapons in terms of sheer destructiveness, it becomes imperative that all nations reexamine their self-interest in these problems. All nations have an equal stake in their solution. For at stake is the survival of our common humanity.

Faithfully yours,

Benjamin V. Cohen
Deputy Representative
of the United States
on the

United Nations Disarmament Commission



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Authority E.O. 10501

REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT BY
THE DEPUTY UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE
ON THE UNITED NATIONS DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

Introduction

January 12, 1953

In view of your deep and active interest in the development of an effective and comprehensive disarmament program I have thought it would be appropriate for me at this time to make a report to you on the work of the United Nations Disarmament Commission and in particular on the efforts of the United States in close cooperation with other members of the Commission to carry out the mandate of the General Assembly in accordance with the spirit and the principles of the Charter.

The statements and working proposals which have been made on behalf of the United States in the Commission are the product of the joint efforts of the State and Defense Departments, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the United States Mission to the United Nations. The tripartite proposals submitted on behalf of the United States, France, and the United Kingdom represent the joint efforts of all three governments. The cooperation achieved within our government and with friendly governments on the Commission has made it possible for us to supply the ideas and materials with which an effective and comprehensive disarmament program may in the future be wrought.

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Authority E.O. 10501I. Our Responsibilities
Under the Charter

It may seem paradoxical to many that we should discuss disarmament in the United Nations in 1952, when the nations of the world are increasing their armaments at an accelerated pace.

But the United States has made it clear in the discussions of disarmament in the United Nations that the burden of armaments has been thrust upon us and is not of our choosing. We have learned that in an armed world we cannot safely rely on unarmed goodwill. But we have made it clear that we would infinitely prefer a world order in which the energies and resources now diverted to armaments could be used to advance human dignity and well-being.

On November 7, 1951 in an address explaining the proposals of the United States, the United Kingdom and France for the establishment of the United Nations Disarmament Commission you, Mr. President, stated:

"We are determined to win real peace—peace based on freedom and justice. We will do it the hard way if we must—by going forward, as we are doing now, to make the free world so strong that no would-be aggressor will dare to break the peace. But we will never give up trying for another way to peace—the way of reducing the armaments that make aggression possible."

Five months later, on April 2, 1952, General Eisenhower, then Supreme Allied Commander Europe in his first report to the NATO countries, declared:

"Visible and within grasp we have the capability of building such military, economic and moral strength as the Communist world would never dare challenge. When that point is reached,

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the Iron Curtain rulers may be willing to participate seriously in disarmament negotiations. Then we may see fulfilled the universal hope expressed in the United Nations Charter to reduce 'the diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources.'

Our position is clear and unequivocal. Until all nations cooperate in good faith in putting into effect a balanced reduction in armed forces and armaments, we must build up and maintain the armed strength of the free world to guard and preserve the peace. But we have shown that we are ready, willing and eager to work out a comprehensive disarmament program, to reduce the danger of war and the fear of aggression. That is the duty of all Member States under the Charter of the United Nations.

Under the Charter, all Members have agreed to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered. Under the Charter all Members have agreed to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

The maintenance of large armaments undermines confidence in the fulfillment of the solemn Charter obligations of Member States not to use force or the threat of force as an instrument of national or ideological policy.

But the use of force or the threat of force in international relations cannot be eliminated by unilateral disarmament by any one State or group of States. All States must cooperate.



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All Members of the United Nations have a responsibility to see that force is used only in self-defense and in the service of the Charter and not as an instrument of national or ideological policy.

Disarmament must be viewed as a means of carrying out the obligations under the Charter not to use force or the threat of force for settling disputes among nations. The objective of a disarmament program must be to prevent war, not to regulate the armaments used in war. We have tried to make clear that the United States does not accept war as inevitable; that the job is to reduce the likelihood of war by ensuring that no nation possesses the means to commit a successful act of armed aggression. The aim is to reduce the likelihood of war by reducing the possibility of war and armed aggression.

In its efforts toward disarmament, the United States has concentrated single-mindedly on the root problem--the prevention of war itself. When men fight to kill it is hard to regulate the manner of killing. True humanitarianism as well as realism supports the view that the only practical way to eliminate the horror of war is to eliminate war itself.

That of course does not mean that we are uninterested in examining the rules for the conduct of war or in finding better ways to protect civilians and prisoners should war occur. But in developing a disarmament program we must strive, not to codify the rules of warfare but to reduce the possibility of war.



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Responsible statesmen cannot rely upon paper promises which provide no assurances of their observance. We cannot make genuine progress towards disarmament by piece-meal attempts to forbid the use of individual weapons without safeguards designed to give assurance that such weapons will not be available for use. We have therefore urged in the United Nations that efforts be directed toward a comprehensive disarmament program which will ensure that nations do not retain in their military establishment armed forces and armaments in types or in volume beyond those required for self-defense and to meet their Charter responsibilities. Forces and weapons not expressly permitted should be eliminated under effective international safeguards sufficient to remove the possibility and fear of prohibited forces or armaments being available for use.

The most solemn promise in the history of international relationships is that contained in the Charter against the threat or use of force of any kind in any way in international relations contrary to the purposes of the Charter. A disarmament program should provide the safeguards necessary to assure that no state will be in a position to break this solemn promise. No lesser promise can be relied upon if that most solemn promise is broken. A state which would flout the Charter to make war cannot be relied upon to honor any lesser promise as to how it will wage war.

This is the framework within which we have undertaken in the



Disarmament

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Disarmament Commission our Charter responsibility "for formulating plans ... for the establishment of a system for the regulation of disarmaments."

II. Early Efforts Towards Disarmament

At the time the Charter was adopted, Nazi and Japanese aggression had been crushed. We looked forward to a peaceful world. We sought to cooperate to relieve the peoples of the world of the fear of war and the burden of armaments.

Relying on the good faith of the Soviet Union and its promises to fulfill its Charter and treaty obligations, we demobilized our armed forces.



We did even more. Less than a year after the momentous discovery by the United States of the war potential of the atom, we proposed that the United Nations undertake to develop an effective plan for the international control of atomic energy which would ensure its use for peaceful purposes only. Within the same year the United States presented to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission the basic principles of a constructive plan for the effective international control of this new force which would make possible and encourage its use by all nations for peaceful purposes. These principles with minor modifications were accepted as a working basis by the General Assembly of the United Nations in the fall of 1946 and a plan based on these principles received the overwhelming endorsement of the Assembly in 1948. The plan may not be perfect. Possibly it can be improved upon. But we can be very proud

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of the part we have played in working out the UN plan for the control of atomic energy. We are confident this plan could do the job of controlling effectively the atomic weapon and other related weapons as well, since its contemplated procedures actually encompass the entire field of atomic energy.

In 1946, when we first suggested the basic principles of the plan, we had hoped that if general agreement could first be reached on a plan for the effective international control of this new force of atomic energy, with its tremendous possibilities for good or for evil, then, in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and goodwill, agreement on the other essential parts of a comprehensive disarmament program would not be difficult of accomplishment. That was the reason why we thought in the early days of the disarmament discussions in the United Nations it would be better not to merge the discussions of conventional armaments with the discussions of atomic energy control.



In the Commission for Conventional Armaments the United States, France and the United Kingdom placed great stress on the development of a system for the disclosure and verification of armed forces and armaments. We believed then, as we believe now, that such procedures generate mutual confidence necessary for any program of guaranteed disarmament. If disarmament is to be considered seriously and not merely as an instrument of propaganda, statesmen responsible for the peace and security of their countries cannot rely on paper promises to disarm, but must have assured means of knowing that promises made are kept.

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Unfortunately our hope that progress in the field of atomic energy would stimulate progress in the field of conventional arms proved unfounded. Progress was stalled at a dead center in both commissions. In the Atomic Energy Commission the Soviet Union rejected the control features of the plan which had been developed on the basis of the United States proposals and itself presented no acceptable alternative. In the Conventional Armaments Commission the Soviet Union rejected the proposals for a system for the disclosure and verification of armed forces and armaments because it did not include atomic armaments. In an effort to break this deadlock, at the Fifth Session of the General Assembly you, Mr. President, suggested a new approach to the task of disarmament by merging the work of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments. As you recall, our hope was that the valuable preliminary work done in both fields could be preserved and that the new framework might be helpful in meeting the objections of the Soviet Union.

III. Disarmament Resolution
of January 11, 1952

At the Sixth Session of the General Assembly, the United Kingdom, France and the United States joined in proposals to set up a new commission with a broad mandate to develop comprehensive and coordinated plans for the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and armaments including atomic. To pave the way for fresh efforts to reach realistic agreements, the proposals stressed the fact

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that a genuine system for disarmament must include all kinds of armed forces and armaments, must be accepted by all nations whose military resources are such that their failure to accept would endanger the system, and must include safeguards which will ensure compliance by all nations.

By an overwhelming vote on January 11, 1952 the Sixth General Assembly passed a resolution based on the proposals of the three governments. The resolution established a Disarmament Commission composed of the members of the Security Council plus Canada, and directed the Commission to prepare draft proposals to be embodied in a treaty or treaties for submission to a conference of all states, concerning:

- (i) regulation, limitation, and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments;
- (ii) elimination of all major weapons adaptable to mass destruction;
- (iii) effective international control of atomic energy to ensure the prohibition of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only, with the present United Nations plan being used as the basis for the Commission's considerations until a better or no less effective plan were devised;
- (iv) progressive and continuing disclosure and verification of all armed forces and all armaments, including atomic, the implementation of such a scheme being recognized as a first and indispensable step in carrying out the disarmament program.

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(v) methods for fixing over-all limits and restrictions on all armed forces and armaments, and for determining the allocation within their respective military establishments of the permitted national armed forces and armaments;

(vi) the establishment of an international control organ (or organs) to ensure the implementation of the treaty or treaties;
and

(vii) an adequate system of safeguards to ensure observance of the disarmament program.

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IV. The Disarmament Commission

As a member of the Disarmament Commission, the United States has put forward every effort to carry out the mandate of the General Assembly. The United States, individually and in collaboration with France and the United Kingdom has placed before the Disarmament Commission working papers and proposals which we believe provide a working basis and broad outline for a practical and comprehensive disarmament program. In the development and consideration of these proposals we had constructive assistance and cooperation from all members of the Commission with the exception of the Soviet Union. It might be illuminating to review the principal suggestions we made in the Disarmament Commission.

A. Essential Principles for a Disarmament Program

On April 24, 1952, the United States introduced a paper setting forth what we considered "Essential Principles for a Disarmament Program" (DC/20, pp 83-84). It represented an attempt to clarify and agree on objectives and principles which we believed should guide the Disarmament Commission in developing the details of a comprehensive disarmament program.

We were influenced to present these principles and objectives at the outset because of the insistence of the Soviet Union that we could make no progress until we took certain decisions on principles. The Soviet representative had argued in the Commission, as they have argued in past General Assemblies, that the United States was opposed to any general reduction in armed forces and armaments because the United States was unwilling to accept the Soviet proposals that immediate decisions should be taken to reduce by one-third the armed strength of the great powers and to prohibit the use of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

The record is clear that the United States is dedicated to the goal

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of significantly reducing armaments and effectively eliminating atomic weapons from the world's arsenals. The United States rejected the Soviet proposals for the same reasons which caused the General Assembly repeatedly to reject them -- because they are not contrived to achieve a balanced reduction in armed strength or to provide safeguards which would ensure their observance. In fact, they would clearly result in a dangerous imbalance of strength in favor of the Soviet Union and other states having mass armed forces. We were confident that our statement of principles would clearly demonstrate that the United States actively favors a truly balanced reduction in overall armed strength, which would include the elimination of mass armed forces as well as all weapons of mass destruction. What we are opposed to are paper agreements or paper decisions which provide no tangible safeguards or assurance of their observance.

Responsible nations cannot morally or legally bind themselves to disarm on the basis of a decision in principle -- on the basis of paper promises and without adequate and unequivocal safeguards to protect them from the hazards of violations and evasions. But if there could be agreement in advance on the objectives and principles which should govern a comprehensive and coordinated disarmament program, such agreement should greatly simplify the main and primary task of agreeing on specific and practical measures for arms reductions and eliminations, and concrete and workable safeguards to carry out these principles and objectives.

With this hope of facilitating the work of the Commission, the United States submitted its paper on Essential Principles for a Disarmament Program.

For the most part these principles, summarized below, derive from the Charter and the resolutions of the General Assembly.

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1. The goal of disarmament is not to regulate the armaments to be used in war, but to prevent war by relaxing the tensions and fears created by armaments and by making war inherently, as it is constitutionally under the Charter, impossible as a means of settling disputes between nations.

2. To achieve this goal, all states must cooperate to establish an open and substantially disarmed world,

(a) in which armed forces and armaments will be reduced to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no state will be in a condition of armed preparedness to start a war, and

(b) in which no state will be in a position to undertake preparations for war without other states having knowledge of such preparations long before an offending state could start a war.

This principle of an open and substantially disarmed world stems from the fourth freedom - freedom from fear, which President Roosevelt proclaimed in 1941. It was President Roosevelt himself who translated freedom from fear in world terms to mean "a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor - anywhere in the world."

If we want a disarmed world we must insist that all states refrain from the use of force or the threat of force as an instrument of national or ideological policy. An effective disarmament program must be conceived with a determination to strengthen the peace and reduce the possibility of war, not as a haggling process to determine the kinds of arms which may be used in the next war or to gain a strategic advantage at the start of the next war or to reduce the costs of preparing for war. If we want to make progress towards disarmament, states must come to rely for their strength, as for their welfare, not on the number of battalions or weapons they have ready to unleash on a moment's notice, but on the health, happiness and economic efficiency of their people in peacetime.

The other four principles which we enumerated in our paper refer

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to the nature of the international agreements necessary to progress toward the disarmament goals mentioned in our first two principles.

3. These international agreements must bind all states to reduce their armed forces to levels and restrict their armaments to types and quantities, no more or greater than may be necessary for the maintenance of internal order and the fulfillment of their obligations to maintain peace and security in accordance with the Charter.

4. These international agreements must provide a comprehensive and coordinate disarmament program, balanced throughout the process of reduction so as to avoid any disequilibrium of power dangerous to the peace and envisaging the progressive and concurrent elimination of mass armed forces and all instruments adaptable to mass destruction, including atomic and bacteriological.

5. These international agreements must provide effective safeguards to ensure that all phases of the disarmament program are carried out. In particular, the elimination of atomic weapons must be accomplished by an effective system of international control of atomic energy to ensure that atomic energy is used for peaceful purposes only.

6. The safeguards provided in these international agreements must include an effective system of progressive and continuing disclosure and verification of all armed forces and armaments including atomic, to achieve the open world in which alone there can be effective disarmament.

We not only outlined the principles and objectives of a comprehensive disarmament program. We submitted a number of working papers making concrete suggestions as to how they could be carried out in practice.

B. System of Disclosure and Verification of All Armed Forces and Armaments.

The General Assembly resolution had directed the Disarmament Commission to consider from the outset plans for progressive disclosure and verification, the implementation of which was recognized as a first and indispensable step in carrying out the disarmament program envisaged by the resolution. In order to assist the Commission in complying with this directive, the United States submitted to the Commission on April 5, 1952, a working paper containing "Proposals for Progressive and Continuing Disclosure and Verification of Armed Forces and Armaments". (DC/20, pp 30-42)



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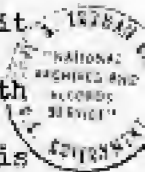
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A system of progressive and continuing disclosure and verification is, as the General Assembly has declared, an essential part of any plan for "guaranteed disarmament." Such a system is necessary to provide the basis for effective safeguards and realistic controls to ensure that agreed disarmament becomes actual disarmament.

The system of disclosure and verification suggested in the United States working paper is continuing, progressive and complete, and would provide advance warning against violations, under competent international control. The system involves all armed forces and all armaments, including atomic from the very start.

We suggested that disclosure and verification should be carried out progressively, step by step. We suggested the system should proceed by stages not because we wanted to proceed at a snail's pace, but because we know that in the present state of world tension, no state would tear the veil of secrecy from its most carefully guarded security arrangements unless it could be satisfied that all states are proceeding with the same good faith and the same understanding and at the same pace. The concept of stages is introduced not to delay and obstruct, but to facilitate and expedite progress and to establish confidence.

Our paper suggested five stages in all, each stage to follow when the previous stage has been satisfactorily completed. This concept of stages was intended to protect all states in the event of a serious violation or collapse of the program by providing a check on the good faith of other states. The disclosure and verification system, we believe, should proceed from the less secret to the more secret information, both to prevent premature disclosure of more secret information until substantial cooperation and good faith had been demonstrated through the working of the previous stage, and also because the less secret information can be more readily verified.

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We sought to provide that the information disclosed in the atomic field at successive stages should be approximately parallel to the information disclosed in the non-atomic field.

We have tried to make the first step in both fields a meaningful stride toward the goal of confidence. The first stage would disclose in breadth, although not in depth, the general contours of the military establishments of all nations. And the first stage includes so much information of a quantitative nature that the disclosures in the atomic field, for example, would give a clear indication of existing atomic strength - our own and that of other countries. That first stage calls for a verified report on the existing strength of all armed forces as well as on the location of installations and facilities required for the production of armaments of all types, including atomic. The successful completion of this first stage would do more to inspire international confidence and reduce tensions than any amount of words could ever accomplish.

The second stage would provide detailed information on the organization of armed forces and on the installations and facilities supplying the basic materials required to produce all armaments, including atomic. The third stage would give detailed information on armaments (except novel armaments which were not in general use by the end of World War II but are volume production today), as well as detailed disclosure of kinds and amounts of fissionable material, and full data on the operation of installations and facilities which produce armaments and fissionable material. The fourth stage would give information in detail concerning the installations and facilities used to produce novel armaments, including atomic weapons. And the fifth stage would provide detailed disclosure of the novel armaments themselves and of atomic weapons.

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The Soviet representative in the Disarmament Commission refused to give serious attention to our working paper on disclosure and verification and at the same time failed to submit any alternative proposal of his own to carry out the directions of the General Assembly that plans for disclosure and verification be considered from the outset. The Soviet representative characterized our effort to develop a workable system of disclosure and verification as a gigantic intelligence and espionage operation bearing no relation to disarmament. It is true, of course, that states have become so accustomed to living in the dark that they have become suspicious of the light. But it is truly impossible to see how, in our imperfect world, we can make real progress toward disarmament so long as the Soviet Union is unwilling even to consider means of moving toward agreement on a workable, continuing, progressive process of disclosure and verification. Responsible governments cannot be expected to agree to cut down their own defenses unless through an effective disclosure and verification process they are reliably informed as to where such cuts will in fact leave them in relation to the armed forces of other countries.



The Soviet representative on the Commission also criticized our proposals on the ground that the atomic disclosures were relegated to a remote and indefinite stage. Actually there is a considerable amount of atomic disclosure in the very first stage. But the Soviet representative seemed more concerned to find reasons for rejecting our proposals than to open up any avenues for possible agreement.

We recognized that there might be differences as to the stages, and the speed with which the program passes from one stage to another. We contemplated that as soon as one stage was finished, the next would begin. We believed that with genuine cooperation on the part of all states, all

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the stages could be completed within two years. The purpose of providing stages was to facilitate the process by creating confidence. In order that there be mutual confidence, there must be disclosure by degrees so that all nations are free of the fear that one nation is getting more knowledge than another, or that the process is in any way inequitable.

We tried, in submitting the plan, to make clear that it was a working paper, that we were open to suggestion, and that we wanted to find out what sort of safeguards we could collectively devise. We tried to make it clear that the proposed system of disclosure and verification was not intended to exclude or delay reductions in armed forces and armaments or eliminations of weapons adaptable to mass destruction, but on the contrary was intended to provide the necessary groundwork for such reductions and eliminations.

C. Collings on All Armed Forces

On May 28, 1952, the United States, the United Kingdom and France submitted to the Disarmament Commission proposals suggesting the fixing of numerical limits on all armed forces of all states (DC/20, pp 125-130).

The tripartite working paper of May 28 made clear that we are prepared to grapple earnestly and sincerely not only with the problems of safeguards but with substantive measures to secure drastic and balanced reductions in armed strength.

The tripartite working paper of May 28 dealt with one of the essential parts -- in some ways the most important part -- of a comprehensive disarmament program: the manpower strength of the armed forces.

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A nation's armed forces are not the only measure of its armed strength. Other elements must be dealt with in any comprehensive disarmament program. But aggressors are not likely to go to war without the armed forces necessary to ensure the successful accomplishment of their aggressive purposes. All armaments depend upon manpower, and their effectiveness in varying degrees is affected by the armed forces available to use them. A substantial and balanced reduction of armed forces should greatly lessen the likelihood and fear of war. If even tentative agreement could be reached on the ceilings to be placed on permitted armed forces, we felt that would greatly facilitate efforts to agree on reducing and restricting the quantities and types of permitted armaments.

Our tripartite working paper suggested fixed numerical ceilings on the armed forces of the United States, the U.S.S.R., China, the United Kingdom and France. As a basis for discussion, it proposed equal maximum ceilings of between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 for the United States, the U.S.S.R. and China, and equal maximum ceilings of between 700,000 and 800,000 for the United Kingdom and France. The reductions proposed were substantial and balanced. They seek to avoid a disequilibrium of power dangerous to international peace in the relations of the great powers among themselves or with other states, and thus to reduce the danger of war. The reductions for the United States and, we assumed, for the U.S.S.R. and China would be well over 50 percent. We felt if that could be secured, there would be less likelihood of any powerful country being in a position where others would fear its readiness for war or its capability for a surprise attack.

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The tripartite working paper also suggested that there should be agreed maximum ceilings for all other states having substantial armed forces which should be fixed in relation to the ceilings agreed upon for the Five Powers. The ceilings would be fixed in these cases also with a view to avoiding a disequilibrium of power dangerous to international peace and security in any area of the world, and thus reducing the danger of war. We contemplated that the ceilings would normally be less than one per cent of the population and would normally be less than the current levels. But we recognized that there would be special cases requiring different treatment and that there is no one automatic formula which can be rigidly applied in all cases. The basic objective must be the avoidance of any imbalance of power dangerous to the peace.

Many of the present difficulties both in Europe and in Asia spring from an imbalance of armed strength which causes some nations to feel that they live only by leave or grace of their more powerful and none too friendly neighbors. If a balanced reduction of arms is to reduce both the fear and danger of aggression it must take into account the balance of armed strength of the most powerful states not only in relation to one another but also in relation to their neighbors.



The numerical limitations proposed were flexible, and were not intended to be final or exhaustive. They were offered not as fixed limitations but as tentative standards to serve as a basis for discussion and negotiation.

These proposals stressed one of our fundamental objectives in the disarmament field. We would eliminate as far as possible the danger of resort to war by reducing the practicability of successful aggression.

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Genuine enforcement of agreed levels of armaments would prevent excessive concentrations of military power which endanger peace and security.

We believed our proposals to be eminently fair and deserving of study. It was a great disappointment to us that the Soviet representative in the Disarmament Commission gave them scant consideration and denounced them as cynical and hypocritical. The Soviet representative also criticized and misrepresented them on the ground that they did not deal with the distribution of the permitted armed forces among the various services nor provide for the limitation of armaments and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction. He ignored the fact that our working paper and our statements in the Commission made clear that our paper was intended to deal with only one aspect of a comprehensive disarmament program and that the other essential components which he mentioned were to be dealt with before we concluded our work. But unfortunately the Soviet representative again showed more concern to find reasons for rejecting our proposals than to find possible avenues towards agreement.

D. Distribution of Armed Forces and Limitations on Types and Quantities of Armaments.

On August 12, 1952, the United States again joined with France and the United Kingdom in submitting a tripartite supplement to the tripartite working paper on ceilings for the armed forces. (DC/20, pp. 162-164).

In this supplement we proposed to prevent undue concentration of the permitted armed forces in particular categories of service and to

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limit armaments in types and quantities to those necessary and appropriate to support permitted armed forces. We suggested practical procedures to facilitate the development of mutually agreed programs to accomplish these purposes and to bring all essential components of these programs into balanced relationship.

We specifically suggested that if our proposals for fixing numerical limitations on all armed forces were accepted and the powers principally concerned were prepared to undertake in good faith serious negotiations looking towards their implementation, arrangements might be made for a conference of the Five Great Powers which are Permanent Members of the Security Council with a view to reaching tentative agreement among themselves by negotiation on:

(a) the distribution by principal categories of the armed forces that they would consider necessary and appropriate to maintain within the agreed ceilings proposed for their armed forces.



(b) the types and quantities of armaments which they would consider necessary and appropriate to support permitted armed forces within the proposed numerical ceilings.

(c) the elimination of all armed forces and armaments other than those expressly permitted, it being understood that all major weapons adaptable to mass destruction should be eliminated and atomic energy should be placed under effective international control to ensure its use for peaceful purposes only.

We further proposed that following a five power conference, regional conferences might be held attended by all governments and authorities

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having substantial military forces in the respective regions. In light of the tentative agreement reached by the Five Great Powers, the regional conference would endeavor to reach similar tentative agreement on the above mentioned subjects, including agreement on the overall numerical ceilings for the armed forces of all governments and authorities in the region.

We proposed that all these agreements should be incorporated in a draft treaty comprehending and bringing into balanced relationship all essential components of the disarmament program.

In our paper we recognized that the needs and responsibilities of states are different. Considerable flexibility in negotiation would be necessary to obtain concrete and satisfactory results. The important thing is to obtain the greatest practicable reduction in armed forces and armaments in order to reduce the danger and fear of war, bearing in mind the necessity of avoiding throughout the process of reduction any serious imbalance or disequilibrium of power dangerous to international peace and security in any part of the world.

In order to clarify the concept of balanced relationship between the essential components of a comprehensive disarmament program, the tripartite supplement suggested that the timing and coordination of the reductions, prohibitions and eliminations should ensure that there would be balanced reductions of overall armed strength at all stages throughout the disarmament process until the agreed limits are reached. In particular, the initial limitations or reductions in armed forces and in permitted armaments should commence at the same time as the first steps toward the elimination of prohibited armaments, with synchronization throughout the process. The
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elimination of prohibited armaments would cover the elimination of all major weapons adaptable to mass destruction, whatever their nature, including the elimination of atomic weapons as the result of an effective system of international control of atomic energy. In order to oversee the job, the tripartite supplement proposed that an international control authority should be established at the commencement of the program, assuming progressively its functions to ensure the carrying out of these limitations, reductions, curtailments and prohibitions.

This concept of synchronization throughout the disarmament process is necessarily stated in general terms, for the details depend upon working out the specific reduction process in each field. Of course the United States, France and the United Kingdom do not seek to gain any advantage, imagined or real, which might give the preponderance of military power to the West at the expense of other powers.

The synchronization of the disarmament process must be designed to further the concept of balanced reduction which avoids a disequilibrium of power. It applies to atomic weapons, to artillery, to bacteriological weapons, to mass armies.



In this context, as throughout the entire program, effective and balanced disarmament must be viewed as a means of reducing the danger and fear of war, not as a bargaining process to obtain strategic advantages in event of war.

Unfortunately, the Soviet representative on the Disarmament Commission refused to accept the tripartite working paper with the supplement, even as a basis of discussion.

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E. International Control of Atomic Energy

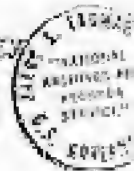
The United States has always considered that a system for the effective international control of atomic energy was an indispensable component of any disarmament program.

The United States took a leading part in developing the United Nations plan for the control of atomic energy. That plan was the product of thorough study in the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. It was approved by an overwhelming vote in the General Assembly. It should be reiterated that the United Nations Plan would provide for elimination and prohibition, through effective international control procedures, of all the various types of weapons based on the release of atomic energy and the plan's references to control of atomic energy should be read throughout in that light.

The General Assembly at its last session directed the Disarmament Commission to use the United Nations plan as the basis of the Commission's deliberations until a better or no less effective plan is devised. The General Assembly further directed the Commission to consider any proposals regarding atomic energy control which might be submitted to it.

The United States has continued to support the United Nations atomic energy plan as the best plan presently available. But we made it clear in the Disarmament Commission that : : in no sense do we regard the plan as immutable and incapable of change and improvement. The United States reaffirmed its willingness to examine seriously and with an open mind any proposals for atomic control which might be presented.

We did more. In our working paper proposing a continuing and progressive system of disclosure and verification of armed forces and



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armaments, the United States expressly included atomic armaments. The system of disclosure and verification proposed lays the ground work for continuing inspection. Other elements of control are of course very important and necessary in the field, but any plan must include a process of continuing inspection. Any international system for the control of atomic energy, whatever its nature, must involve extensive disclosure and verification as part of a process of continuing inspection.

The Soviet Union has rejected the United Nations atomic energy plan, but has proposed no acceptable alternative. It has objected particularly to the ownership and other control features of the United Nations plan, contending that control should involve only continuing inspection. But in the Disarmament Commission the Soviet Union has refused to explain in any detail the kind of continuing inspection plan which would be acceptable to it, and it was unwilling even to consider our suggestions for continuing disclosure and verification in the atomic field or any other field.

The concept of disclosure and verification which includes continuing inspection provides an indispensable first step in laying the groundwork for any control plan in the atomic field. Until the Soviet Union is willing to consider this concept, little progress can be made toward determining what other elements of control -- those contained in the United Nations plan or others -- may be necessary. We are interested in controls not for the sake of controls nor as an end in itself. We are interested in controls as a necessary means for effectively eliminating atomic weapons from national arsenals.



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F. Elimination of Weapons Adaptable to Mass Destruction, including
Bacteriological Weapons

The United States made clear in the Disarmament Commission that in its view a comprehensive disarmament program should include not only the effective international control of atomic energy to ensure the elimination of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only, but the elimination of all major weapons adaptable to mass destruction, including bacteriological weapons. This position we reiterated in our proposal on Essential Principles and in both the tripartite proposal and supplement.

Beginning with the very first meeting of the Disarmament Commission in New York the Soviet Union sought to poison the atmosphere of the Commission and obscure the clear and unequivocal position of the United States on this subject by making false and sensational charges that United States troops were conducting germ warfare in Korea and China. The Soviet Union sought to leave the false impression that the United States was opposing any effort in the United Nations to devise ways and means of eliminating bacteriological weapons as a part of a disarmament program.

The monstrously false charges regarding the use of germ warfare in Korea and China which were completely irrelevant to the disarmament discussions, were categorically denied by the Unified Command and by the highest United States officials. The United States invited the International Committee of the Red Cross to investigate the charges. But the North Korean authorities and the Communist Chinese authorities ignored the offer of the International Committee of the Red Cross to make an investigation.



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When the United States sought to have the Security Council request the Red Cross to make such investigation, the Soviet Union vetoed the proposal.

On August 15, 1952, I made in the Disarmament Commission a statement fully explaining the position of the United States on bacteriological disarmament and in particular on the adequacy of the Geneva Protocol as a means of securing bacteriological disarmament. I tried to make clear our conviction that the objectives of the Protocol could not be more worthy of laudable; but -- and this cannot be repeated too often -- that the Protocol does not provide security against the manufacture, the stockpiling, and the use of bacteriological weapons. The Soviet representative placed great stress on the Geneva Protocol in the Disarmament Commission and it was brought to the attention of the Seventh General Assembly in the item introduced by the Polish representative which as of this writing has not yet been considered. It might be useful to repeat here certain portions of my statement of August 15 to the Disarmament Commission:

"It would be a grave mistake to assume that, because the United States has not ratified the Geneva Protocol, the United States is opposed to the general objective of the treaty, the effective outlawing of poisonous gas and biological weapons directed against human beings . . .

"Our sympathy with the general objective of the Geneva Protocol should not blind us to the fact that intervening events have demonstrated the Protocol to be inadequate and ineffective to achieve its objective. The hope entertained at the end of World War I that



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states could rely upon treaty promises and treaty declarations without safeguards to ensure their observance has turned out to be illusory. Mussolini was no more deterred from using poisonous gas in Ethiopia in the 1930s by the Geneva Protocol, which Italy had accepted, than was Germany deterred from using poisonous gas in World War I by the Hague Conventions, which Germany had accepted.

"It was shocking to hear the Soviet Representative in the Security Council suggest that Hitler was deterred from using poisonous gas and bacteriological warfare in World War II by the Geneva Protocol, when we know that Hitler and his henchmen adhered to no treaty or law of God or of man which they believed they could successfully ignore. Would the Soviet representative have us believe that the men who consigned defenseless women, old men and little children to the gas chambers would have respected the Geneva Protocol, save for their fears of reprisals. Winston Churchill did not think so. Marshall Voroshilov did not think so when he stated on February 22, 1938:--

'Ten years ago or more the Soviet Union signed a convention abolishing the use of poison gas and bacteriological weapons. To that we still adhere but if our enemies use such methods against us I tell you we are prepared and fully prepared to use them also and to use them against aggressors on their own soil.' . . .



"We have pointed out that the Soviet Union and other states which ratified the Geneva Protocol reserved the right to employ poisonous gas and germ warfare in reprisal. We

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have pointed out that the Soviet Union and other states which have ratified the Geneva Protocol have conducted research work and made other preparations for the use of poisonous gas and bacteriological warfare. In view of the proved inadequacies of the Geneva Protocol we do not criticize the Soviet Union or other states parties to the Protocol for these precautionary measures.

"But we do criticize the Soviet Union for attacking the United States for taking the same precautionary measures. We do criticize and condemn the Soviet Union for making false charges that the United States is using bacteriological warfare in Korea. We do criticize and condemn the Soviet Union for conducting a hate-mongering campaign against the United States, which is, as I have previously stated, sadly reminiscent of Hitler's hate-mongering campaign against the Czechs before Munich.

"We do not criticize the humane and worthy objective of the Geneva Protocol. But we do not trust the promises of those who forswear on paper the use of germ warfare save in reprisal and then make deliberate and false charges that others are using germ warfare. We do not trust the paper promises of those who bear false witnesses against their neighbors. We do not trust the paper promises of those who do not hesitate to break their treaty promises when it serves their ideological ends. We have no reason to believe that those who have made deliberately

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false charges against us, would have been loath to make the same false charges against us if we had ratified the Geneva Protocol. And that is particularly true when their false charges provide false excuses for breaking their own promises on alleged grounds of reprisals.

"Our purpose is not to discredit the worthy objective of the Geneva Protocol, but to find means adequate and effective to attain its objective. The United States has never used germ warfare. The United States has never used gas warfare save in retaliation in the First World War when it was first used by Germany. In the last World War, President Roosevelt condemned the use of poisonous gas and issued strict orders that it should not be used except in retaliation. The United States has not used gas or germ warfare in Korea. The charges that it has, are monstrous falsehood and those that make them are unwilling to have them investigated by an impartial body. The record of the United States is clear and clean, and no state that keeps its Charter obligations has anything to fear from the United States in this regard.



"It is not without significance that in both of the two wars in the Twentieth Century in which poison gas was used, its use was inaugurated by states which had bound themselves on paper not to use it. If the history of the last half century teaches us anything, it teaches us that aggressor states which start wars in violation of their treaty obligations cannot be trusted to keep their paper promises regarding the methods of waging wars if they find that the keeping of those promises stands in the way of their accomplishing their aggressive designs.

"If men fight to kill, it is not easy to regulate how they shall kill. Moreover, there is the danger that if we prohibit the use of some weapons,

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even more hideous weapons may be discovered and used. We want to eliminate, and we have submitted proposals for the elimination of, all weapons which are not expressly permitted as necessary and appropriate to support the limited number of armed forces which may be permitted to states to maintain public order and to meet their Charter obligations.

"In civilized communities the deliberate and unprovoked killing of man by man is murder regardless of the kind of weapon used to kill. In a civilized world, deliberate and unprovoked aggression which causes the killing of masses of man should be regarded as mass murder regardless of the kinds of weapons used. That is the theory of the Charter of the United Nations and that is the rule of law which we here in the Disarmament Commission should seek to implement. That is the way we can best attain the unrealized objective of the Geneva Protocol.

"All members of the United Nations have agreed to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations. The United States as a member of the United Nations has committed itself, as have all other members, to refrain from not only the use of poisonous gas and the use of germ warfare but the use of force of any kind contrary to the law of the Charter. And by that commitment the United States intends to abide and has a right to expect other members to abide. The United States condemns not only the use of germ and gas warfare but the use of force of any kind contrary to the law of the Charter.

"Let it not be said that there is no way to determine when force is being used contrary to the law of the Charter. If the Security Council

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does not act, the sentiments of the civilized world can be recorded in the General Assembly as the Uniting for Peace Resolution provides.

"We hope here in this Disarmament Commission to agree upon measures of disarmament to reduce the possibility of aggression and make war inherently, as it is constitutionally under the Charter, impossible as a means of settling disputes between nations. That is why throughout our discussions, as Representative of the United States, I have insisted that we must approach the problem of disarmament from the point of view of preventing war and not from the point of view of regulating the armaments to be used in war

"My government hopes we are going to work out here measures of disarmament as a means of preventing war. My government does not believe that we should interrupt this work to inform any would-be aggressor state which may contemplate using force contrary to its Charter commitments, what kind of force law-abiding states will or will not use to suppress aggression.

"I hope my remarks will not be misunderstood. We are issuing no ultimatums. We are making no threats. We will support effective proposals to eliminate all weapons adaptable to mass destruction, including atomic, chemical and biological weapons from national armaments. We believe, as the Soviet Delegation maintained in 1932, that paramount importance should be attached, 'not to the prohibition of chemical weapons in war time, but to the prohibition of chemical warfare in peace time' and that 'efforts should be directed not so much to the framing of laws and usages of war as to the prohibition of as many lethal substances and appliances as possible.' ...

"Certainly there is no assurance that aggressors, which break their Charter obligations, not to go to war, will keep their paper promises not to fight with certain weapons if they have them and need them to achieve their evil designs

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"The task of the Disarmament Commission is, as the United States points out in its proposals setting forth the Essential Principles of a Disarmament Programme, to devise measures to insure that 'armed forces and armaments will be reduced to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no state will be in a condition of armed preparedness to start a war' and that 'no state will be in a position to undertake preparations for war without other states having knowledge of such preparations long before the offending state could start a war.' We do not believe that it is the function of the Disarmament Commission to attempt to codify the laws of war. But obviously if it attempted to do so, it would have to deal with the whole range of weapons and methods of warfare to be prescribed, the machinery necessary to secure the observance of the rules, and the matter of sanctions, reprisals and retaliation in case of violation."

It should be emphasized that it was the Soviet Union which in 1928 proposed an additional protocol which would outlaw the methods and appliances utilized to wage poison gas and bacteriological warfare and the industrial undertakings engaged in the production of the weapons, as well as the use of such weapons. It was the Soviet Union itself which observed, in the Disarmament conferences in 1932, that mere legal prohibitions are "inadequate and of merely secondary importance". The Soviet delegate said, at that time, "Consequently efforts should be directed not so much to the framing of laws and usages of war as to the prohibition of as many lethal substances and appliances as possible. This is the point of view which the Soviet Union will continue to represent . . ."



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In the United States statement of August 15, we outlined a proposal for the elimination of bacteriological weapons and facilities for their production which could be made effective as part of a comprehensive program, a plan which would not merely prohibit the use of bacteriological weapons but would provide assurance and safeguards that such weapons would not be available for use. On September 4, 1952, the United States presented a summary of these proposals as a working paper to the Commission (DC/20, pp 191-192).

The plan we suggested for the elimination of bacteriological weapons and facilities for their production is inseparably connected with an effective and continuous system of disclosure and verification of all armed forces and armaments such as we have proposed. Such a comprehensive system of disclosure and verification would lay the necessary groundwork for the elimination of germ weapons and facilities for their use and production, within the framework of a comprehensive disarmament program. It may be true that there are no theoretically fool-proof safeguards which would prevent the concoction of some deadly germs in an apothecary's shop in the dark hours of night. But when the United States proposed the establishment of safeguards to ensure the elimination of germ warfare along with the elimination of mass armed forces and all weapons adaptable to mass destruction, we sought what is possible and practical, not the impossible. Bacteriological weapons to be effective in modern warfare would require more than the dropping at random of a few infected spiders, flies or fleas. They would require industrial establishments, facilities for maintaining agents, transport

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B. File

containers and disseminating appliances. Such arrangements and facilities will not readily escape detection under an effective, comprehensive and continuous system of disclosure and verification which the General Assembly has declared to be a necessary prerequisite of any comprehensive disarmament program.

We therefore proposed in our working paper of September 4, that at appropriate stages in an effective system of disclosure and verification agreed measures should become effective providing for the progressive curtailment of production, the progressive dismantling of plants, and the progressive destruction of stockpiles of bacteriological weapons and related appliances. Under this program, with cooperation in good faith by the principal states concerned, all bacteriological weapons and all facilities connected therewith could be eliminated from national armaments and thus not only their use but their very existence prohibited.

If we wish to achieve effective disarmament and to reduce the danger and fear of war, we must not be content with paper promises not to use weapons of mass destruction. Such promises would only give to treaty-breaking aggressors their choice of weapons. We must see to it that prohibited weapons are not available for use.



G. The "Phantom" Proposals of the Soviet Union

At the Seventh Session of the General Assembly the Polish Delegation reintroduced the proposals which the Soviet Delegation presented to the Sixth General Assembly and which that Assembly referred to the Disarmament Commission. These same proposals had been submitted by the Soviet Union to previous Assemblies, which refused to accept them, and in the Disarmament

Commission the Soviet Union failed to elaborate their proposals or to offer any new arguments in support of them.

The Soviet proposals may be described as "phantom" or "ghost" proposals because like ghosts they constantly appear and reappear, but one can never catch hold of them. They are shadowy and elusive, and it is impossible to state precisely just what they are or are intended to be. They call upon the five great powers to reduce their armed forces within one year by one-third and to submit full data on their armaments. They call for immediate adoption of a decision on the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and the establishment of strict international control over the observance of that decision by all states, with the right of the international control organ to conduct inspection on a continuing basis but not to interfere in the domestic affairs of states.

Now inasmuch as no data whatsoever are forthcoming until these decisions are taken, states cannot determine in advance how the reductions which are supposed to be made will leave them in relation to the armed strength of other states. Nor has the Soviet Union ever sought to explain how the simple one-third reduction would be applied to all the complicated components which make up the armed strength of a nation. On their face, the proposals would perpetuate and not remove any imbalance of power which now exists and no machinery is provided for the implementation of even the vague promises called for in the proposals.

Since the proposals call for the prohibition of the atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and only a one-third reduction in

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conventional armaments, the proposals would in fact enormously increase the relative armed strength of states with large mass armies. The proposals run counter to the basic principles of a balanced reduction in armaments. Certainly the Soviet Union would object if we reversed their proposals and called upon the Soviet Union and all other states to abolish immediately all armed forces and non-atomic armaments, and to reduce existing stocks of atomic weapons by one-third.

While the proposals profess to recognize the necessity of an international control organ having some control over their observance, the Soviet Union has refused not only in the Assembly but in the Disarmament Commission to discuss any concrete measures of international control. While insisting that a United Nations control organ must not interfere in domestic affairs, the Soviet Union has refused to explain what it means by interference in domestic affairs. It has branded any effort on our part to work out a system of disclosure and verification as an intelligence and espionage operation, despite the fact that the General Assembly has declared that such a system is a prerequisite to any program of guaranteed disarmament. It was impossible in the Disarmament Commission to prevail upon the Soviet representative to explain what the Soviet proposals for strict international control meant.

A few instances from the record of the proceedings in the Disarmament Commission will serve to illustrate the evasiveness of the Soviet representative in giving any explanation of the "phantom" Soviet proposals.

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Authority E.O. 10501

On April 4th, the representative of France requested the Soviet representative to clarify two points; first, the meaning of the proposal that prohibition and establishment of control should come into effect simultaneously—did it mean that prohibition began the day agreements were signed, or when the control organ was actually in a position to operate?—and, second, the precise implications of the proposal that the international control organ undertake "continuous inspection" but "without interference in the domestic affairs of States" — in other words what constitutes continuous control, and how is it to be limited so as not to interfere in domestic affairs?

The Soviet representative replied that the purpose of the question "is to obscure these concrete proposals, since they are abundantly clear to any objective person who has long been acquainted with them and since there is nothing obscure about them. They can only be obscure to someone who does not wish to understand them, is opposing the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons, and for this purpose is still, as before, finding various pretexts".

The Soviet representative then stated that non-interference was self-explanatory—he termed it "a very clear and precise formulation"—and that simultaneous prohibition and control was also self-explanatory, meaning that the two would be introduced simultaneously. (DC/C.1/PV.1, pp 4, 5, 24, 25, 26).

At the meeting on April 9, the representative of the United Kingdom asked if the "decision to announce the prohibition of atomic weapons and the establishment of controls" meant a broad agreement that an organ

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would be set up, or that a detailed plan for operations, specifying rights and duties of the organ and of states, will have been at that stage accepted by the governments and written into the decision? Regarding the question of interference in domestic affairs, he cited the uniquely restrictive attitude of the USSR toward what free societies consider normal practices, and asked for a precise understanding of the Soviet proviso. He asked for an unequivocal statement of the Soviet Union's attitude on this point which we could then discuss dispassionately and objectively.

At the same meeting the Representative of Canada repeated the questions his delegation had asked the Soviet representative at the Sixth General Assembly, in order to secure the clarification of the Soviet proposals which had not been furnished at that time.

In answering these questions, the Soviet representative repeated in substance Mr. Vyschinsky's reply at the Sixth Assembly to the same questions. He said the questions showed "some conspiracy among delegations not willing to discuss the question of the prohibition of atomic weapons and the question of control." He went on to say, "The raising of these questions was in itself a device to avoid discussion of the substance of the USSR proposals . . . in order to obscure the issue, they bombarded the Soviet Union Delegation with questions. That same device is being repeated now. Instead of a definite discussion of the clear-cut USSR proposals, artificial questions are being asked. . ." He called it playing at questions and answers.

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Authority E.O. 10501

And at the same meeting, we ourselves asked the Soviet representative to state clearly his conception of international control. We asked if the Soviet control proposal contemplated national or international ownership of fissionable material, and national or international ownership, operation, and management of facilities producing dangerous quantities of fissionable material. Would the international control organ have the right to station inspectors continuously at any particular installation? Could inspectors be sent wherever and whenever the control organ considered it necessary? Could the control organ "interfere" with the freedom of a state so far as might be necessary to ensure that there was no possible evasion or violation?

In reply, the Soviet representative stated it was necessary to agree on principles before replying to our questions. As long as we did not abandon the United Nations plan, there was no point in discussing a system of inspection on a continuing basis. As he said, "This is the fundamental issue and until we get beyond it, there is no point in discussing details of the how, why, and wherefore. . . . Until we clear up this basic question, until we reach agreement on it, there is no point in considering the details."

Similarly, he insisted there must be agreement on a "decision" to prohibit atomic weapons before "discussing details and particular points."
(DC/C.1/PV.2, pp 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 30, 31, 35, 36.)

On May 8 the representative of France made one more attempt. He asked for a yes or no answer to the question of whether by "continuing inspection" the Soviet representative actually meant that international inspectors could be stationed day and night in all atomic energy establishments, at all

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stages of production, so that we are assured that at no stage of production can any quantity of fissionable material, however small, be diverted for the clandestine manufacture of bombs.

The Soviet representative replied, "When the United States and France. . . are prepared to withdraw this obsolete, unacceptable and worthless proposal," —meaning the United Nations plan—"Then I shall be prepared to give a concrete explanation of how we think control and continuing inspection should be carried out. As long as our approach to the question remains so utterly different, there is no need for me to give any details." (DC/C.1/PV.4, pp 28, 33).

At the meeting on May 14, the representative of the United Kingdom tried again, asking the same questions, hoping, as he said, to convince the Soviet delegation that its position was genuinely obscure. The Soviet representative replied as before. "The details," he said, "can and should only be discussed when we have reached agreement on the system to be adopted." Until such time as the United Nations plan is abandoned, he said, "it is futile to discuss the details of a system of control on a permanent basis. It would be so much idle talk. That is how the matter stands on this question."

(DC/C.1/PV.6, pp 6, 12).

There were other attempts by members of the Commission to elicit some reasoned explanation of the Soviet proposals. They were all met the same way. The vague and unexplained slogans which constitute the Soviet proposals must be accepted before any details could be given.

The Soviet proposals remain, as they have always been "phantom" proposals, elusive shadows without substance.



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V. Conclusion

Despite the lack of progress towards agreement among the Great Powers on disarmament, we must not be discouraged.

The United States and other members of the Disarmament Commission worked hard to secure a better understanding of the problems which must be met if we are to move towards a disarmed world free from the danger and fear of war. The constructive proposals submitted to the Disarmament Commission during the past year make a significant contribution to the better understanding of these problems.

We do not contend that the constructive proposals thus far presented to the Commission would solve all the problems. They were not intended to be final and definitive in terms or complete and exhaustive in details. They were intended only to provide the basis for discussion and to open up avenues by which we might approach understanding and agreement. To keep the road to understanding and agreement open to new approaches, we sought to avoid freezing our positions or taking inflexible stands.

As the Secretary of State of the United States stated in his opening address in the general debate:

"Disarmament cannot be achieved unilaterally. It cannot be achieved by denunciation in a battle of ephithets. It can be achieved only by international agreements under effective safeguards which will protect law-abiding states from the hazards of violations and evasions."

The Disarmament Commission cannot force disarmament agreements upon recalcitrant states. It cannot bridge deep and fundamental differences by linguistic

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by linguistic sleight-of-hand. Excessive zeal to obtain agreements which gloss over rather than resolve these differences may even increase the tensions and fears which stand in the way of necessary understanding.

In the interest of world peace it is important to continue, through the Disarmament Commission and in every other way open to us, efforts to develop a better understanding of the problems of armaments, and the significance of disarmament as a means of reducing the danger and fears of war. There is reason to believe that with the development of better understanding of these problems, the overwhelming common interest of all peoples in peace and the instinct of self-preservation will induce the statesmen of all nations to save their peoples from the horrors of war in the Twentieth Century. For as new instruments of warfare may be developed which would far surpass previous weapons in terms of sheer destructiveness, it becomes imperative that all nations reexamine their self-interest in these problems. All nations have an equal stake in their solution. For at stake is the survival of our common humanity.



B. E. E.

October 25, 1945

85-A

My dear Mr. Congressman:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of October 22nd. He very much appreciated your interest in writing as you did regarding the selection of Hyde Park as a permanent site for the United Nations Organization. He wanted me to tell you, however, that he is leaving the final decision in this matter entirely up to the Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. #

The President sends you his best wishes, in which I join.

Very sincerely yours,

MATTHEW J. CONNELLY
Secretary to the President.

✕
Honorable Jay Lefavre,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

rlk



ms. 12a

Tell him that
 the President is
 leaving there in the
 hands of the
 m.c.

~~Hydro Carb~~

JAY LEFEVRE
30th Dist. New YorkCOMMITTEE
INTERNAL AFFAIRS
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
SPECIAL COMMITTEE ONE
POST-WAR ECONOMIC POLICY
AND PLANNING

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D. C.

October 22, 1945

THE WHITE HOUSE
OCT 23 8 49 AM '45
RECEIVEDRe: United Nations Organization
Hyde Park, New YorkThe President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Upon my recent return to the States as a member of the Special Committee on Post War Economic Policy and Planning, my office brought to my attention the fervent desire of the people of Dutchess County to have Hyde Park selected as the permanent site for the United Nations Organization.

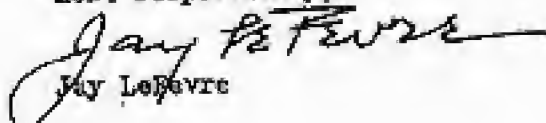
I am strongly in favor of this selection and I believe you will agree with me that there is no other spot in the United States that has quite the historical as well as the sentimental appeal as Hyde Park, not only to Americans but to the world at large, for it has been visited by many foreign dignitaries. It has many advantages from the standpoint of accessibility by air, rail, water and main highways.

Also there is a block of five square miles which could readily be made available for such a site. One thousand acres of this block is the property of the United States Government and adjacent territory is not thickly populated or built up and would be available for expansion.

I have been in touch with the Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., on the subject matter and I have just furnished him with fifty copies of brochure as compiled by the Poughkeepsie Chamber of Commerce Committee for distribution to the United Nations Preparatory Commission at the time the site is selected. I hand you herewith copy of brochure for your personal use.

I would sincerely appreciate the privilege of an appointment with you at an early date to further, but briefly, talk over this possibility with you.

Most respectfully,


Jay Lefevre

JL:MG

85-A

Miss

December 9, 1946

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12-26-46

Dear Frank:

I appreciated your telegram of the sixth
in regard to the United Nations site.

I have taken no hand in this site program
and don't intend to take any. I am per-
fectly willing for the United Nations to
go to any good city in the United States
and I have no preference.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Honorable Francis J. Byers x *seen*
United States Senate x PP7147
Washington, D. C.

P.S. The only thing I am interested in is
to keep them in the United States.



B. E. E.

The People's Choice
Washington

DEC 6 6 11 PM '46

PVB203 211 GOVT

SW WASHINGTON DC DEC 6 1946 305P

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

SUPPLEMENTING MY TELEPHONE CALL OF TODAY IN WHICH I WAS ASSURED YOU HAVE ADHERED STRICTLY TO YOUR ANNOUNCED POSITION OF IMPARTIALITY IN THE CONTROVERSY OVER SELECTION OF UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS AND THAT YOU DID, IN FACT, REITERATE THIS POSITION IN A DISCUSSION WITH UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE, DEAN ACHESON, AT A CABINET MEETING TODAY, I RESPECTFULLY

URGE YOU TO IMPLEMENT THAT STAND BY AGAIN INSTRUCTING AMERICAN DELEGATES TO UN TO CONFORM TO YOUR POLICY AND REMOVE ANY IMPLICATIONS THEY MAY HAVE GIVEN THAT THEY ARE ACTIVELY SUPPORTING THE SAN FRANCISCO SITE. WOULD SUGGEST OUR DELEGATION ABSTAIN COMPLETELY FROM VOTING ON DECISION AS ONE EFFECTIVE WAY OF DEMONSTRATING ITS IMPARTIALITY. SENATOR AUSTIN'S SPEECH YESTERDAY, IN STRESSING THAT THE UNITED STATES IS WILLING TO MAKE A GIFT OF THE PRESIDIO SITE SUBJECT TO CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL, APPARENTLY IGNORED FACT PHILADELPHIA SITE IS ALSO OFFERED FREE WITH NO STRINGS ATTACHED AND WITH

NO APPROVAL REQUIRED FROM CONGRESS DR ROBERT L JOHNSON * PRESIDENT OF TEMPLE UNIVERSITY AND CHAIRMAN OF PHILADELPHIA CITIZENS COMMITTEE OFFERING THIS FREE SITE IN MY CITY, HAS SINCE CHARGED THAT AMERICAN DELEGATES ARE IN FACT LOBBYING FOR SAN FRANCISCO SITE. WHETHER CHARGE IS JUSTIFIED OR NOT, IT IS DISTRESSING TO ME, AS I KNOW IT IS TO YOU, THAT DELEGATES HAVE GIVEN THAT IMPRESSION

FRANCIS J MYERS USS.

BOILE

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The White House
Washington

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THE PRESIDENT

DELIVER 9AM THE WHITE HOUSE

APPRECIATE YOUR LETTER REITERATING YOUR CONTINUED
IMPARTIAL STAND ON UNITED NATIONS LOCATION. IN VIEW NEW
DEVELOPMENT OF NEW YORK SITE OFFER, RESPECTFULLY URGE
ONCE AGAIN THAT AMERICAN DELEGATION NOT-- REPEAT NOT--
VOTE ON FINAL DECISION. WHILE ATTENDING SESSIONS AT LAKE
SUCCESS TODAY AND AFTER TALKING WITH SENATOR AUSTIN I FELT

ASSURED THAT HE WOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE SITE
CHOICE. LATER, HOWEVER, I READ WITH CONCERN REPORTS OF HIS
PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENTS INDICATING UNITED STATES
DELEGATION WOULD PROBABLY SUPPORT NEW YORK LOCATION.
PHILADELPHIA ASKED NO FAVORITISM FROM OUR DELEGATION.
ALL I ASK FOR MY CITY IS AN EVEN BREAK FROM OUR OWN
COUNTRY, AND THAT MEANS IMPARTIALITY IN FACT. SINCE
YOU SO KINDLY SAID IN YOUR LETTER THAT YOUR ONLY INTEREST
IN SITE CHOICE IS TO KEEP UNITED NATIONS THIS COUNTRY,
SUGGEST DECISION AS TO WHERE IN THIS COUNTRY SITE BE PICKED



BE LEFT ENTIRELY TO REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER MEMBER NATIONS.

SINCERELY

FRANCIS J MYERS USS.

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74/8/48

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

85-A

APR 5 1948

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Loan Agreement to Finance Construction of United Nations
Permanent Headquarters

Transmitted herewith is a letter from the Acting Secretary of State, together with a draft message to the Congress and copies of an agreement between the United States and the United Nations concerning the loan of \$65,000,000 for financing the construction of the United Nations permanent headquarters. Enclosed also is a memorandum for your information describing the plans for that headquarters. # x419-7

I recommend that the draft message, the letter from the Acting Secretary of State, and the Loan Agreement be sent to the Congress.



James E. Walsh
Director

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Enclosure

x380

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

April 5, 1948

MEMORANDUM FOR: The White House

Subject: Loan Agreement to Finance Construction of
United Nations Permanent Headquarters

Reference is made to the memorandum for the President from the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, dated April 5, 1948, on the above subject.

Transmitted herewith at the request of the Department of State is a draft press release for use in connection with the transmission to Congress of the United Nations Headquarters Loan Agreement.



John E. Fobes
John E. Fobes

Enclosure

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has a proposed press
release in connection with
this.



~~TRAFFIC PRESS RELEASE CONCERNING THE PROPOSED LOAN~~
~~FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE~~
~~UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS~~

The President today transmitted to the Congress for its approval an agreement between the United States and the United Nations for a loan of \$65,000,000 to finance the construction of the permanent headquarters of the United Nations in New York City. ~~Final~~ Approval of the loan agreement by the Congress is of great importance. It will demonstrate in the most convincing way possible our faith in international cooperation through the United Nations and our determination to strengthen the United Nations for the accomplishment of its great purpose—achieving a lasting peace among the nations of the world.

This agreement was negotiated by the Department of State with the Secretary-General of the United Nations pursuant to the General Assembly resolution of November 19, 1947. It was signed in New York on March 23, 1948 by the Secretary-General, and by Ambassador Austin on behalf of the United States. The loan will be repaid over a period of thirty-two years in annual installments from the regular budget of the United Nations, to which all its members contribute.

In a concurrent resolution of December 1945 adopted unanimously by the Congress, the United Nations was invited to establish its site in the United States. The General Assembly of the United Nations decided in February 1946 to locate its headquarters in the United States and in the Fall of 1946 decided

upon

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upon New York as the site, accepting the offer of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and the City of New York of a free gift of land covering approximately six city blocks on the East River in New York City.

The Congress approved legislation exempting the Rockefeller gift from Federal taxation. Title to the property was transferred to the United Nations. The City of New York undertook extensive commitments valued at about \$20,000,000 to make alterations in the surrounding streets and approaches. Nearly all the buildings on the site were demolished except an office building now being used by the United Nations.

The rights of the United Nations and the United States with respect to control over the site are defined in the Headquarters Agreement which became effective November 21, 1947 pursuant to approval by the Congress (Public Law 357, 80th Congress). The site remains part of the United States and of the City and State of New York, while the United Nations is given specified privileges and immunities comparable to those enjoyed by foreign embassies and legations here and by United States embassies and legations abroad.

Plans for the new headquarters have been developed under the guidance of the Headquarters Advisory Committee, a sixteen-^{member} nation committee chaired by Ambassador Warren R. Austin. A group of outstanding architects and engineers from various

member

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member nations, led by Wallace K. Harrison, of the United States, collaborated in preparing plans for an Assembly Hall, office building, and conference facilities. These were unanimously approved by the General Assembly at its last session.

Concluding, as a result of thorough exploration, that private financing was impracticable, the Headquarters Advisory Committee (with the United States representative abstaining from the discussion) requested the Secretary-General to approach the United States Government regarding the possibility of its making a loan. In response to the inquiry of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Austin was authorized to state that the President would recommend to the Congress the granting of an interest-free loan of \$65,000,000. As a result of this offer the General Assembly resolution of November 19, 1947 was adopted.

Attachment:

Loan Agreement between
the United States and
the United Nations.

April 5, 1948.

B-116



**DRAFT PRESS RELEASE CONCERNING THE PROPOSED LOAN
FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE
UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS**

The President today transmitted to the Congress for its approval an agreement between the United States and the United Nations for a loan of \$65,000,000 to finance the construction of the permanent headquarters of the United Nations in New York City. Prompt approval of the loan agreement by the Congress is of great importance. It will demonstrate in the most convincing way possible our faith in international cooperation through the United Nations and our determination to strengthen the United Nations for the accomplishment of its great purpose—achieving a lasting peace among the nations of the world.

This agreement was negotiated by the Department of State with the Secretary-General of the United Nations pursuant to the General Assembly resolution of November 19, 1947. It was signed in New York on March 23, 1948 by the Secretary-General, and by Ambassador Austin on behalf of the United States. The loan will be repaid over a period of thirty-two years in annual installments from the regular budget of the United Nations, to which all its members contribute.

In a concurrent resolution of December 1945 adopted unanimously by the Congress, the United Nations was invited to establish its site in the United States. The General Assembly of the United Nations decided in February 1946 to locate its headquarters in the United States and in the Fall of 1946 decided

upon



upon New York as the site, accepting the offer of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and the City of New York of a free gift of land covering approximately six city blocks on the East River in New York City.

The Congress approved legislation exempting the Rockefeller gift from Federal taxation. Title to the property was transferred to the United Nations. The City of New York undertook extensive commitments valued at about \$20,000,000 to make alterations in the surrounding streets and approaches. Nearly all the buildings on the site were demolished except an office building now being used by the United Nations.

The rights of the United Nations and the United States with respect to control over the site are defined in the Headquarters Agreement which became effective November 21, 1947 pursuant to approval by the Congress (Public Law 357, 80th Congress). The site remains part of the United States and of the City and State of New York, while the United Nations is given specified privileges and immunities comparable to those enjoyed by foreign embassies and legations here and by United States embassies and legations abroad.

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member



member nations, led by Wallace K. Harrison, of the United States, collaborated in preparing plans for an Assembly Hall, office building, and conference facilities. These were unanimously approved by the General Assembly at its last session.

Concluding, as a result of thorough exploration, that private financing was impracticable, the Headquarters Advisory Committee (with the United States representative abstaining from the discussion) requested the Secretary-General to approach the United States Government regarding the possibility of its making a loan. In response to the inquiry of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Austin was authorized to state that the President would recommend to the Congress the granting of an interest-free loan of \$65,000,000. As a result of this offer the General Assembly resolution of November 19, 1947 was adopted.

Attachment:

Loan Agreement between
the United States and
the United Nations.

April 6, 1948.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTONIn reply refer to
0A

March 29, 1948

Dear Mr. Webb:

There are enclosed herewith a letter addressed to the President together with enclosures, concerning an agreement between the United States and the United Nations for a loan of \$65,000,000, without interest, to be made by the United States to the United Nations to finance the construction of the permanent headquarters of the United Nations.

If the Bureau of the Budget perceives no objection to this letter and its enclosures, it is requested that they be transmitted to the President for his consideration and for submission to the Congress, if he approves.

There is also attached, for the information of the Bureau of the Budget, a draft Bill authorizing the Headquarters Loan Agreement. The intent is to give this draft legislation directly to the Congress after the message from the President transmitting the agreement has gone forward. Therefore it should not accompany the letter addressed to the President.

Faithfully yours,



Enclosures:

1. Letter to the President,
with following enclosures:
 - a. Memorandum entitled
"Building the Headquarters of the United Nations"
 - b. Draft Message from the President to the Senate and the House of Representatives.
 - c. Agreement between the United States and the United Nations.
2. Draft Legislation.

x20

The Honorable,
James E. Webb,
Director, Bureau of the Budget.

Recd
3/29/48
JEP



MEMORANDUM

2/10/48

BUILDING THE PERMANENT HEADQUARTERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations is now ready to build its permanent headquarters in New York City. The site has been substantially cleared. Plans have been drawn. Construction can start as soon as funds are available. To provide these funds, the Congress will be asked to consider a proposed interest-free loan of \$65,000,000.

This memorandum describes the developments leading up to the proposal of the loan. It explains why, from the point of view of World peace and United States security and leadership, this proposal, although involving a relatively small sum, is one of the most important matters which will be before the Congress at its present session.

Choice of the Site

The United Nations Charter, adopted at San Francisco on June 26, 1945, left the location of the Organization's headquarters for determination by the General Assembly. In December of that year, the Congress unanimously adopted a concurrent resolution inviting the new Organization to locate its permanent headquarters in the United States. The General Assembly decided to accept this invitation and to make its temporary home in New York City while looking for an appropriate permanent location.

The General Assembly, during the autumn of 1946, considered several sites which had been proposed in or near New York City, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Boston. It finally accepted the offer of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and The City of New York of a free gift of land covering approximately six city blocks on the East River in New York City.

Once the site was chosen, events moved rapidly. The Congress approved legislation exempting the Rockefeller gift from Federal taxation. Title to the property was transferred to the United Nations. The City of New York undertook extensive commitments valued at about \$20,000,000 to make alterations in the surrounding streets and approaches. Nearly all the buildings on the site were demolished except an office building now being used by the United Nations.

Legal Arrangements

The rights of the United Nations and the United States with respect to control over the site are defined in the Headquarters Agreement which became effective November 21, 1947 pursuant to approval by the Congress (Public Law 357, 80th Congress). The site remains part of the United States and of the City and State of New York, while the United Nations is given specified privileges and immunities comparable to those enjoyed by foreign embassies here and by United States embassies abroad.

Building Plans

B F11



Building Plans

Plans for the new headquarters have been developed under the guidance of the Headquarters Advisory Committee, a sixteen-nation committee chaired by Ambassador Warren R. Austin. A group of outstanding architects and engineers from various member nations, led by Wallace K. Harrison, of the United States, collaborated in preparing plans for an Assembly Hall, office building, and conference facilities. These were unanimously approved by the General Assembly at its last session.

Cost

The plans as originally drawn called for buildings that would cost approximately \$85,000,000. These plans were revised in an effort to bring costs down to the minimum consistent with efficient operation and room for moderate expansion in the immediate future. As a result, the estimated cost was reduced to \$65,000,000.

Materials

Estimates made by the Headquarters Planning Staff of the United Nations indicate that the total steel required for construction of the permanent headquarters will be approximately 40,000 tons, or about .4% of the total steel used ^{in the United States} for construction and maintenance in 1947. Less than one half of the steel going into the project will be required during 1948. The type of steel used will, in general, be different from that which is used in multiple dwelling housing structures. Thus no appreciable competition with housing requirements is expected.

Cement requirements are estimated at less than one half of 1% of the amount of cement which was shipped to New York State in 1947 when the industry was operating at 75% of capacity.

The lumber required for the construction will be mostly concrete-form lumber of which it is expected that there will be an adequate supply without competition with housing.

Importance of Starting Construction Promptly

The temporary headquarters of the United Nations are in a converted factory at Lake Success where the space is cramped and in large part unsuitable for office use. The General Assembly meets in the New York State building at the old World Fair grounds, about twenty minutes drive away. Both buildings are far from hotels, with the result that delegates have to spend many hours commuting to and from New York City.

In addition to operating efficiency, however, there are more fundamental reasons why it is of vital importance that the permanent headquarters of the

United Nations

B-File



-3-

United Nations promptly become a reality. Recent deterioration of international relations has led the nations of the World to put their faith all the more earnestly in the United Nations as their best ultimate hope for lasting peace. Failure to proceed promptly with the erection of the permanent headquarters would be construed, rightly or wrongly, in many member nations as lack of faith in the future of the Organization.

Not only is the success of the United Nations and the assurance of its future development as vital to the United States as to any other Member Nation, but the United States is even more vitally concerned than the other Members in the establishment of the United Nations headquarters on a permanent basis. Location of the headquarters in this country is a source not only of pride to the United States but a very important factor in the prestige and leadership of this country in the activities of the United Nations.

The decision to locate here was made in the face of strong opposition on the part of many nations who felt that the headquarters should be in Europe. Most of these nations now feel that, once the decision has been made to locate here, it would be calamitous to reverse it. Nevertheless, the permanence of this decision cannot be assured as long as the United Nations remains in makeshift quarters. During the deliberations in the fall of 1946, when the site was chosen, the Soviet Union appeared to regret its original support for location in this country and sought to have a European location reconsidered.

At the last session of the General Assembly it was voted to hold the next session in Europe. Some Members opposed this for fear that it would lead to a diminution of United States leadership. The United States felt bound to support the wishes of the majority of the Members in this respect as long as the Organization had not yet found satisfactory quarters in this country. If, at the time of the next Assembly meets in Europe, the construction of the permanent headquarters in this country is not assured, there is a serious possibility that the old question of where the headquarters should be located may be reopened.

Different Methods of Financing Considered

In normal times, a project such as this would, of course, be financed by cash contributions of Member Nations. The critical dollar shortage, however, makes this method a practical impossibility for most of the Members of the United Nations.

The possibilities of private financing were carefully explored, and the most favorable arrangement that could be developed was submitted to the Headquarters Advisory Committee. This was found to have serious disadvantages. It would still be necessary for a substantial part of the cost to be put up in cash by the Members, and they were not in a position to do so. There were legal difficulties in providing for the possibility of suit against the United

Nations

B-File



Nations, and there was the complicating factor of clearing the plans with the lenders so that the buildings would be adaptable to other use in the theoretical event of foreclosure. Furthermore, it was the feeling of many members that it would be inconsistent with the dignity and prestige of the United Nations for the Organization to be under obligation to private financial interests. In view of these considerations, the members of the Headquarters Advisory Committee (the United States representative abstaining from the discussion) unanimously requested the Secretary-General to approach the United States Government regarding the possibility of its making a loan.

In connection with this request, consideration was given to the possibility of making the loan through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation or the Export Import Bank, but it was clear that neither of these organizations had the necessary statutory authority. A loan by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development would also be impracticable since it can only loan to a member nation or to a business, industrial or agricultural enterprise on the guarantee of a member.

The U. S. Offer of a Loan

Following consultations between representatives of the Department of State, the Treasury Department and the Bureau of the Budget, it appeared that the most appropriate arrangement would be a direct loan by the United States Government. In response to the inquiry of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Austin was authorized by the President to state that the President would recommend to the Congress the granting of an interest-free loan of \$65,000,000. Ambassador Austin's letter of October 29, 1947, to the Secretary-General on this subject is attached. Letters explaining the proposed financing procedure had previously been sent on October 22 to the Chairman and ranking minority members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Banking and Currency Committees of both Houses.

Reasons for Making the Loan Interest-Free

It was originally contemplated that a loan by the United States Government would bear interest. On further consideration it appeared, however, that a loan without interest would probably in the long run be to the advantage of the United States from a strictly financial point of view, since it would strengthen the hands of the United States Delegation at the recent General Assembly in resisting efforts to call upon the United States for the payment of a bigger share of the cost of construction than its share of the regular budget of the United Nations.

The United States now pays 39.89 per cent of the budget of the United Nations. If contributions were strictly on the basis of ability to pay, it would have to contribute a substantially larger share. The basis on which the United States contribution has been kept down to this figure, and on which it

is hoped

B file



-5-

is hoped that it may ultimately be reduced further, is that it would not be consistent with the sovereign equality of Members if the organization were dependent upon one Member for an excessive portion of its revenue. This argument, however, does not carry much weight in cases such as the construction of headquarters since it could be urged that this is an isolated transaction not establishing any precedent. In support of a larger contribution by the Federal Government towards the headquarters, attention might be called to the generosity already displayed by a private citizen and by The City of New York. Finally, the actual economic advantage to the United States arising out of the location of the headquarters in this country would be a powerful argument in favor of a larger contribution. It was feared, however, that if the United States should make a contribution to the cost of the headquarters greater than its proportional share of the regular budget this might, in turn, be used as leverage for future efforts to increase, or at least to prevent the decrease, of the United States' regular contribution to the budget.

The definite economic advantages accruing to the United States from the location of the headquarters in this country would seem to justify the Government in making a special contribution towards the construction. Making this contribution in the form of a waiver of interest has the great advantage of not prejudicing the position of the United States with regard to its contribution to the budget of the organization. The principal of the loan would be repaid in annual installments out of the regular budget of the United Nations.

Economic Advantages to the United States

Apart from the enhancement of United States leadership and prestige in the Organization, and the benefit to our foreign relations of having an increasing number of influential citizens of foreign countries learn from direct contact the advantages of the American way of life, the location of the headquarters in this country results in a definite economic benefit to the United States.

Certain immediate and concrete benefits will arise from the construction itself, since almost the entire cost of construction will be spent in the United States. For example, American labor will be used for the building, the bulk of the materials will be purchased in the United States, and the existence of the buildings will be a permanent asset both to New York City and to the Nation.

The location of the United Nations headquarters in the United States brings about a constant inflow of funds from other countries. It is estimated that about \$20,500,000 is transferred every year from foreign hands and spent in the United States in connection with the United Nations. This includes contributions by foreign countries to the United Nations budget, expenditures of the permanent Delegations stationed in New York, and expenditures by Delegations coming to special meetings held at United Nations

headquarters

B-11e



headquarters throughout the year. This is an annual inflow of money which may be expected to increase rather than to become smaller in the future. Another saving to this Government is in the travel and communications expense that would be involved in maintaining a mission and sending representatives if the headquarters were located in Europe. This is estimated at over \$300,000 per year.

Action of the General Assembly

The General Assembly received the United States offer warmly and with real appreciation of the support thus demonstrated for the United Nations. It authorized the Secretary-General to negotiate a loan agreement with the United States for a period of not less than 30 years subject to repayment in annual installments from the budget of the United Nations. The Assembly's resolution expressly recognized that the loan was dependent upon approval by the Congress.

Negotiation of the Loan Agreement

Pursuant to the resolution of the General Assembly, representatives of the Department of State and the Treasury, in consultation with the Bureau of the Budget, participated in negotiations with officials of the United Nations regarding the terms of a loan agreement. The result of these negotiations is the draft loan agreement which accompanies this memorandum. It provides for payment by the United States to the United Nations of a total of not more than \$65,000,000 as required by the United Nations for the construction of the headquarters. Repayment is to be made in annual installments, beginning July 1, 1951 when it may be expected that the United Nations will be installed in the new headquarters, and ending July 1, 1982. The payments begin at \$1,000,000 for the first two years and rise gradually to \$2,500,000, tapering off again towards the end of the period. Under this schedule half the loan will have been repaid by 1966, but the United Nations will have relatively small payments to make during the first few years when the dollar shortage may still be acute and the United Nations may have additional organizational expenses. The United Nations undertakes not to allow the creation of any mortgage or other encumbrance on the real property without the permission of the United States, so long as the loan is outstanding, and recognizes that, as provided in the Headquarters Agreement, it cannot dispose of any of the real property without the consent of the United States, which consent may be conditioned upon repayment of the balance of all installments of the debt outstanding.

The loan agreement is now ready for final negotiation and signature. Promptly after signature, it will be submitted to the Congress for approval and implementation.

Attachment:

Letter to Secretary-General
from Ambassador Austin.

B. E. H. e.



October 29, 1947

My dear Secretary-General:

I wish to reply to your request for information concerning the extent to which the Government of the United States might be willing to assist in financing the costs of construction of the United Nations Headquarters.

The Government of the United States would be prepared to enter into negotiations with the Secretary-General of the United Nations with a view to concluding a loan agreement whereby an interest-free United States Government loan would be made available for the purpose of financing all or part of the cost of constructing the United Nations Headquarters. It would be the understanding of my Government that such a loan would be for an amount not exceeding \$65,000,000. Further, it is understood that the loan would be extended for a period to be determined by negotiation with the Secretary-General and would be repayable in annual installments from the ordinary budget of the United Nations.

Such a loan would, of course, require the approval of the United States Congress. The President of the United States would be willing to request the approval of such a loan by the Congress upon conclusion of negotiations between the Secretary-General and my Government. It is assumed that the General Assembly will at this session make the necessary decisions and give the necessary authorizations required to proceed with the construction and financing of the Headquarters.

Sincerely yours,

(sgd) Warren R. Austin

His Excellency,
Trygve Lie
Secretary-General of the
United Nations
Lake Success,
Long Island,
New York.



DRAFT FOR BILL AUTHORIZING HEADQUARTERS
LOAN AGREEMENT

Whereas, the Congress of the United States, in H. Con. Res. 75, passed unanimously by the House of Representatives December 10, 1946, and agreed to unanimously by the Senate December 11, 1946, invited the United Nations "to locate the seat of the United Nations Organization within the United States"; and

Whereas the General Assembly on December 14, 1946, resolved "that the permanent headquarters of the United Nations shall be established in New York City in the area bounded by First Avenue, East Forty-eighth Street, the East River, and East Forty-second Street"; and

Whereas, pursuant to authorization of the Congress in Public Law 357 of the 80th Congress, the "Agreement Between the United Nations and the United States of America Regarding the Headquarters of the United Nations" was brought into effect November 21, 1947, defining the rights and obligations of the United States and the United Nations with respect to the above mentioned site; and

Whereas plans have been prepared for construction on said site of permanent headquarters of the United Nations to cost not more than \$65,000,000, and the United Nations is ready to proceed with such construction as soon as financing can be provided; and

Whereas the present temporary headquarters of the United Nations are inadequate for the efficient functioning of the Organization and retention of its headquarters in the United States can be assured only by the erection of adequate permanent facilities; and

Whereas, owing to the current critical dollar shortage, the other Member Nations are not able to provide in cash at present their respective shares of the cost of constructing the permanent headquarters; other methods of borrowing the necessary funds have been found impracticable; and the permanent establishment of the headquarters of the United Nations in this country will result directly and indirectly in substantial economic benefits to the United States from the expenditures of the Organization and its Member Nations; and

Whereas,



-2-

Whereas, in view of the foregoing considerations, the United States Representative at the Seat of the United Nations, in response to an inquiry of the Secretary-General of the United Nations regarding the possibility of a United States Government loan, informed the Secretary-General, with the authorization of the President, by note dated October 29, 1947, that the President would recommend to the Congress the authorization of a loan from the United States to the United Nations for the construction of the headquarters in an amount not exceeding \$65,000,000; and

Whereas, the General Assembly of the United Nations, by resolution of November 20, 1947, authorized the Secretary-General to negotiate such a loan with the appropriate officials of the United States Government, expressly recognizing that such loan would require the approval of the Congress; and

Whereas, the Secretary of State has negotiated and signed, on behalf of the United States an agreement with the United Nations in the form set forth below, providing for an interest-free loan of not more than \$65,000,000 from the United States to the United Nations to be repaid in annual installments, and said agreement is, by its terms, to become effective on notification to the United Nations that the Congress, with the approval of the President, has made available the funds necessary to be advanced in accordance with the provisions of the Agreement:

Therefore, be it Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the President is hereby authorized, following appropriation of the necessary funds by the Congress, to bring into effect on the part of the United States the Loan Agreement, set forth below, between the United States of America and the United Nations, signed at Lake Success, New York, on _____, 1948, with such changes therein not contrary to the general tenor thereof and not imposing any additional obligations on the United States or relieving the United Nations of any obligations, as the President may deem necessary and appropriate:

[Take



[Take in text of Agreement]

SEC. 2. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Department of State, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$55,000,000 to accomplish the purposes of this joint resolution. Amounts received in repayment of such loan shall be deposited and covered into the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts.



LOAN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND
THE UNITED NATIONS

It is hereby agreed by the Government of the United States of America and the United Nations as follows:

(1) Subject to the terms and conditions of this Agreement, the Government of the United States will lend to the United Nations a sum not to exceed in the aggregate \$65,000,000. Such sum shall be expended only as authorized by the United Nations for the construction and furnishing of the permanent headquarters of the United Nations in its headquarters district in The City of New York, as defined in the Agreement between the United States of America and the United Nations regarding the Headquarters of the United Nations, signed at Lake Success, New York, on June 26, 1947, including the necessary architectural and engineering work, landscaping, underground construction and other appropriate improvements to the land and approaches, and for other related purposes and expenses incident thereto.

(2) Such sum, or parts thereof, will be advanced by the United States through the Secretary of State, to the United Nations upon request of the Secretary-General or other duly authorized officer of the United Nations and upon the certification of the architect or engineer in charge of construction, countersigned by the Secretary-General or other duly authorized officer, that the amount requested is required to cover payments for the purposes set forth in paragraph (1) above which either (a) have been at any time made by the United Nations or, (b) are due and payable, or (c) it is estimated will become due and payable within sixty days from the date of such request. All sums not used by the United Nations for the purposes set forth in paragraph (1) will be returned to the United States through the Secretary of State when no longer required for said purposes. No amounts will be advanced hereunder after July 1, 1951, or such later date, not after July 1, 1955, as may be agreed to by the Secretary of State.

(3) All sums advanced hereunder will be receipted for on behalf of the United Nations by the Secretary-General or other duly authorized officer of the United Nations.

(4)



-2-

(4) The United Nations will repay, without interest, to the United States the principal amount of all sums advanced hereunder, in annual payments beginning on July 1, 1961, and on the dates and in the amounts indicated, until the entire amount advanced under this agreement has been repaid as follows:

<u>DATE</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
July 1, 1961	\$1,000,000	July 1, 1987	\$2,500,000
July 1, 1962	1,000,000	July 1, 1968	2,500,000
July 1, 1963	1,500,000	July 1, 1969	2,500,000
July 1, 1964	1,500,000	July 1, 1970	2,500,000
July 1, 1965	2,000,000	July 1, 1971	2,500,000
July 1, 1966	2,000,000	July 1, 1972	2,500,000
July 1, 1967	2,000,000	July 1, 1973	2,500,000
July 1, 1968	2,000,000	July 1, 1974	2,500,000
July 1, 1969	2,000,000	July 1, 1975	2,500,000
July 1, 1960	2,500,000	July 1, 1976	1,500,000
July 1, 1961	2,500,000	July 1, 1977	1,500,000
July 1, 1962	2,500,000	July 1, 1978	1,500,000
July 1, 1963	2,500,000	July 1, 1979	1,500,000
July 1, 1964	2,500,000	July 1, 1980	1,500,000
July 1, 1965	2,500,000	July 1, 1981	1,500,000
July 1, 1966	2,500,000	July 1, 1982	1,000,000

However, in the event the United Nations does not request the entire sum of \$63,000,000 available to it under this Agreement, the amount to be repaid under this paragraph will not exceed the aggregate amount advanced by the United States. All amounts payable to the United States under this paragraph will be paid, out of the ordinary budget of the United Nations, to the Secretary of State of the United States in currency of the United States which is legal tender for public debts on the date such payments are made. All sums repaid to the United States will be receipted for, on behalf of the United States by the Secretary of State.

(5) The United Nations may at any time make repayments to the United States of funds advanced hereunder in excess of the annual installments as provided in paragraph (4) hereof.

(6)



(6) The United Nations agrees that, in order to give full effect to Section 22(a) of the Agreement regarding the Headquarters of the United Nations referred to in paragraph (1) above (under which the United Nations shall not dispose of all or any part of the land owned by it in the headquarters district without the consent of the United States), it will not, without the consent of the United States, while any of the indebtedness incurred hereunder is outstanding and unpaid, create any mortgage, lien or other encumbrance on or against any of its real property in the headquarters district as defined in said Agreement. The United Nations also agrees that the United States, as a condition to giving its consent to any such disposition or encumbrance, may require the simultaneous repayment of the balance of all installments remaining unpaid hereunder.

(7) The effective date of this Agreement shall be the date on which the Government of the United States notifies the United Nations that the Congress of the United States, with the approval of the President, has made available the funds necessary to be advanced in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement.

In Witness Whereof, the Government of the United States of America, acting by and through the United States Representative to the United Nations, and the United Nations, acting by and through the Secretary-General, have respectively caused this Agreement to be duly signed in duplicate at Lake Success, New York, on this twenty-third day of March, 1948.

For the GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

United States Representative
to the
United Nations

For the UNITED NATIONS:

Secretary-General



TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

I transmit herewith for the consideration of the Congress an Agreement between the United States and the United Nations concerning a loan of \$85,000,000, without interest, to be made by the United States to the United Nations to finance the construction of the permanent headquarters of the United Nations in the United States. I also enclose a letter from the Acting Secretary of State regarding this Agreement.

The decision of the United Nations to locate its permanent headquarters in the United States was made pursuant to an invitation unanimously extended by concurrent resolution of the Congress on December 10 and 11, 1945. The specific site for the headquarters was chosen in December 1946. The United Nations is still operating in makeshift temporary headquarters. It is essential, not only for the effective operation of the United Nations, but for the continued prestige and leadership of the United States, as host to the United Nations, that adequate physical facilities be promptly furnished for



the conduct of its business.

During the course of the Second Regular Session of the General Assembly in New York last fall, it appeared that, in view of the critical dollar shortage confronting most of the Members of the Organization, the only satisfactory way of providing for the prompt construction of the permanent home for the United Nations was a loan by the United States. In view of this fact and taking into consideration the economic and financial advantages that would accrue to the United States from this project, I authorized Ambassador Warren R. Austin, as Representative of the United States to the United Nations, to state that I would request the Congress to approve the making of a \$65,000,000 interest-free loan for this purpose. This loan would be repaid in annual installments from the ordinary budget of the United Nations, according to an agreed schedule of repayments. This offer was accepted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on the express understanding that it was subject to the approval of the Congress.

It is my hope that the Congress will carefully consider this proposal and grant its approval. The construction of the permanent



headquarters of the United Nations will be tangible evidence to the world that the United States is supporting to the full the institution to which the peoples of all nations are looking as their best hope for freedom from the fear of war.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Enclosures:

1. Agreement between the United States and the United Nations concerning a loan of \$65,000,000.
2. Letter from the Acting Secretary of State regarding the Loan Agreement.

THE WHITE HOUSE,

APR 7 1948

85-A



IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AUGUST 11, 1948

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

It is with great pleasure that I have signed Senate Joint Resolution 212, authorizing an interest-free loan of \$65 million to the United Nations for construction of its headquarters in New York. The Resolution provides for an immediate advance of \$25 million by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation; this will enable the United Nations to start construction at an early date.

I am deeply gratified that the Congress has now completed action on this important measure.

At the opening of the General Assembly of the United Nations on October 22, 1946, in New York, I said:

"The overwhelming majority of the American people, regardless of party, support the United Nations.

"They are resolved that the United States, to the full limit of its strength, shall contribute to the establishment and maintenance of a just and lasting peace among the nations of the world."

The loan demonstrates our faith in the future of the United Nations and expresses the welcome which that organization finds within our country. Moreover, it is another example of the solidarity of the American people in behalf of our national policy of strengthening the United Nations and the cause of world peace and security for which it stands.

Draft is filed - PP 7 1-7

B



RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

September 2, 1948

Dear Mr. President:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of September 1, 1948, in which you request that the \$25,000,000 for construction of a United Nations headquarters be made available to the Department of State, in accordance with the provisions of Section 4(b) of Public Law 903.

In accordance with your request we have this day remitted to the Treasurer of the United States the \$25,000,000 for deposit to the credit of the Department of State.

Respectfully,

(Signed) Harley Hise



Harley Hise
Chairman

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

79/7/48

5646

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 1, 1948



My dear Mr. Chairman:

Section 4(b) of Public Law 503 reads as follows:

"Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized and directed until such time as an appropriation shall be made pursuant to subsection (a) of this section to make advances not to exceed in the aggregate \$25,000,000 to carry out the provisions of this joint resolution and of the loan agreement referred to in section 1 in such manner, and in such amounts, as the President shall determine, and no interest shall be charged on advances made by the Treasury to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for this purpose. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation shall be repaid without interest, for advances made by it hereunder from funds made available for the purposes of this joint resolution and of the loan agreement set forth in section 1."

In view of the plans of the United Nations ^{to} start construction of its headquarters immediately, funds should be made available to the Department of State at the earliest possible date for the purpose of making advances to the United Nations in accordance with the loan agreement signed on March 23, 1948, by Warren H. Austin, U. S. Representative to the United Nations, and Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations.

It is, therefore, requested that the full amount of \$25,000,000 authorized by section 4(b) be advanced immediately, the remittance to be made payable to the Treasurer of the United States and deposited to the credit of the Department of State in an account established at the Treasury for this purpose. x21-

Sincerely yours,

(sgd) HARRY S. TRUMAN

The Honorable
The Chairman
Reconstruction Finance Corporation
Washington 25, D. C.

x210-10

1119

Copy to: White House Flag

Copy returned to
State and Budget
9/1
+ G.P.F.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

AUG 31 1948

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Advance of funds to Department of State for UN
Building program

I respectfully submit for your consideration and approval the attached letter to the Chairman of the Board of Directors, Reconstruction Finance Corporation, to transfer \$25,000,000 to the Department of State to carry out the purposes of the Act (Public Law 903, 80th Congress) authorizing an interest-free loan to the United Nations for the construction of its headquarters. The Act authorizes an advance of \$25,000,000 pending the enactment of an appropriation.

The Secretary of State has stated that the United Nations is taking steps to start construction of its headquarters immediately and that he feels it is urgent that the funds be made available to the United Nations as needed.

Frank Pace Jr.
Assistant Director



August 17, 1948

Respectfully referred to
the Director of the Bureau of
the Budget for recommendation
to the President.

x79

WILLIAM J. HOPKINS
Executive Clerk

elb

Hemo of 8/16/48 for the President from the Sec. of State,
with proposed ltr to the Chairman, RPC, requesting that,
pending the enactment of an appropriation, an advance of
\$25,000,000 be made immediately available to the Dept of
State to carry out the purposes of the Act authorizing an
interest-free loan to the U.N. for the construction of its
headquarters.



9/8/48

Mr. Ingling

The attached letter should have been returned to the White House Files -- the President signed letter to the RFC on September 1.



BUREAU OF THE BUDGET
MAIL AND RECORD CENTER

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

August 16, 1948

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Advance of Funds Under Public Law 903

I am sending you herewith a proposed letter to the Chairman, Reconstruction Finance Corporation, requesting that, pending the enactment of an appropriation, an advance of \$25,000,000 be made immediately available to the Department of State to carry out the purposes of the Act authorizing an interest-free loan to the United Nations for the construction of its headquarters.

The United Nations is taking steps to start construction of its headquarters immediately, and it is urgent that the funds be made available to them as needed.



x 20

Enclosure:

Letter to the Chairman,
Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

85-A

September 7, 1948

Respectfully referred for the
information and files of the Director of
the Bureau of the Budget.

A copy has been sent to the
Secretary of State.

MATTHEW J. CONNELLY
Secretary to the President



Letter to the President, dtd 9/2/48, fm:

mhs

Honorable Harley Hise,
Chairman,
Board of Directors,
Reconstruction Finance Corporation,
Washington, D. C.

(Original of communica in file)

B

September 7, 1948

Respectfully referred for the
information and files of the Secretary of
State.

A copy has been sent to the Di-
rector of the Bureau of the Budget.

MATTHEW J. CONNELLY
Secretary to the President



Letter to the President, dtd 9/2/48, fm:

mhc

Honorable Harley Hise,
Chairman,
Board of Directors,
Reconstruction Finance Corporation,
Washington, D. C.

(Original of communica in file)

*Ref. copy for the
information & files of
the Sec. & Sec. &
the Director of the Bureau
of the Budget*

RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION
WASHINGTON

HARLEY HISE
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

September 2, 1948

THE WHITE HOUSE

SEP 3 11 20 AM '48

RECEIVED

Dear Mr. President:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of September 1, 1948, in which you request that the \$25,000,000 for construction of a United Nations head-quarters be made available to the Department of State, # in accordance with the provisions of Section 4(b) of Public Law 903.

In accordance with your request we have this day remitted to the Treasurer of the United States the \$25,000,000 for deposit to the credit of the Department of State.

Respectfully,



Harley Hise
Harley Hise
Chairman

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

5132

85-A

February 6, 1947.

My dear Mr. President:

An offer of \$8,500,000 has been made to the United Nations for acquisition of a headquarters site in the city of New York, on the condition that the gift should be free of
 * Federal Gift Taxes.

X 2.40

The United Nations desires to take advantage of this generous offer and has requested that the United States comply with the condition attached to this gift.

I heartily recommend that this government comply with this request. It would appear that the most desirable method by which this gift could be freed from such taxes would be to amend the appropriate sections of the Internal Revenue Code. In addition to accomplishing the purpose of complying with the above offer, the effect of such an amendment would be to encourage other public-spirited citizens to make gifts to the United Nations.

X 137

X 21-10

X 137-A

I enclose herewith, for your consideration, copy of a suggested joint resolution which would accomplish the desired purposes.

I consider that the passage of such a resolution is definitely in the public interest and I suggest that you bring this to the attention of the Congress at your earliest convenience.

X 419-70

Very sincerely yours,



(Sgd) HARRY S. TRUMAN

Honorable Arthur H. Vandenberg, X 12
 President of the Senate pro tempore,
 United States Senate,
 Washington, D. C.

rux

X 419

80th CONGRESS
1st Session



H. J. RES. _____

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

January __, 1947

Mr. _____ introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to _____

JOINT RESOLUTION

Granting for income, estate, and gift tax purposes deductions for contributions to the United Nations.

1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the
2 United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Internal
3 Revenue Code as amended is further amended as follows:

4 (a) Sections 23 (c) (1) and 23 (q) (1) are amended by
5 inserting after "or any possession of the United States," the
6 following: "or the United Nations,".

7 (b) Sections 612 (d), 661 (a) (3), 1004 (a) (2) (A), and
8 1004 (b) (1) are amended by inserting after "or the District of
9 Columbia," the following: "or the United Nations,".

10 Sec. 2. The amendments herein made shall be applicable with
11 respect to contributions, gifts, bequests, legacies, devises, or
12 transfers, made after December 1, 1946.

21113



Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D.C.

February 5, 1947.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Attention: Honorable Clark Clifford

I have examined the joint resolution making certain amendments to the Internal Revenue Code as a means of permitting deductions for contributions to the United Nations for the purpose of gift tax and income and estate taxes.

The proposed amendment meets with my entire approval and I hope that prompt legislative action may be forthcoming. I wish to suggest, however, that the opening clause be reworded to read "That the Internal Revenue Code as amended is further amended as follows." The reason for this change is that most of the sections referred to have already been amended by previous revenue acts.

Respectfully,



W. C. Clegg
Attorney General.

x 10

6-113

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT


Subject: White House Memorandum
Re Rockefeller Gift

In response to the memorandum of February 3, 1947 from Mr. Clifford regarding the letter from Warren R. Austin, Esquire to the President that the Internal Revenue Code be amended so that gifts to the United Nations would be free from the assessment of Federal gift taxes, I recommend as follows:

1. That the President by letters to the Speaker of the House and the President pro tempore of the Senate request introduction of the legislation in the form submitted by Mr. Austin;

2. That if the President does not wish to follow the above course, he advise me so that I can obtain the prompt introduction of the legislation.

The proposed legislation was worked out by the Legal Adviser of the Department of State with the General Counsel of the Treasury and the Chief Counsel of Internal Revenue, in the form which Mr. Austin submitted to the President.



W. R. Austin
x20

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D. C.

FEB 4 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CLIFFORD:

This is in reply to your memorandum of February 3, 1947, attaching a copy of a letter from Warren R. Austin, United States Representative to the United Nations, recommending the enactment of a joint resolution (copy attached), so amending the Internal Revenue Code as to free from assessment, under the Federal gift tax provisions of the Code, contributions, gifts, bequests, legacies, devises, or transfers to the United Nations. The main present purpose of the resolution is to free from the Federal gift tax requirements the donation of \$8,500,000 by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. for acquisition of the headquarters site for the United Nations.

I am informally advised that the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of State, and the Attorney General recommend the enactment of the proposed legislation; and I concur in that recommendation.



James E. Webb
Director.
x79

Attachment.

FEB 4 - 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Clark M. Clifford

Acknowledgment is made of your memorandum of February 3, 1947, referring to the letter from Warren E. Austin to the President, recommending an amendment to the Internal Revenue Code with respect to gifts to the United Nations, and to a proposed Joint Resolution to this end. The Joint Resolution would amend the Federal income tax to permit a deduction, to the extent now permissible for charitable contributions, for gifts to the United Nations. It would also amend the Federal estate and gift taxes to exempt from such taxes gifts to the United Nations. Representatives of this Department have previously discussed this matter with representatives of the Department of State, and the proposed resolution was drafted by this Department.

I am in agreement with the purpose of the proposed resolution and recommend its submission to the Congress for enactment. In the event of such submission, I have instructed my staff to assist the Department of State in any way possible to obtain early passage of the Resolution.

John W. Snyder
Secretary of the Treasury

x27

8-1116

February 3, 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR:

The Secretary of State
The Secretary of the Treasury
The Attorney General
The Director of the Budget

Attached hereto find copy of letter from Warren E. Austin, Esq. to the President recommending that the Internal Revenue Code be amended so that gifts to the United Nations would be free from the assessment of federal gift taxes. Also find copy of joint resolution which has been prepared with a purpose in mind of accomplishing this end.

Inasmuch as the Rockefeller option in New York expires within a few days, the President must reach a decision in this regard as soon as possible. Kindly submit your recommendations and comments at your earliest convenience so that the President will have them before him when he acts on this matter.



CLARK M. CLIFFORD

X1056

D. File

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

January 29, 1947

My dear Mr. President:

Here is the data which you would probably need in writing a letter to each President Pro Tempore Vandenberg and Speaker of the House Martin.

The offer by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. to the United Nations of \$8,500,000 for acquisition of Headquarters Site contained a condition that the gift should be free of Federal Gift Taxes. *x Men. x PP 71360*

The most desirable method to free this gift from such taxes would be an amendment of the appropriate Sections of the Internal Revenue Code, adding the United Nations to the donees named in that section. Those donees are the United States, States, and political subdivisions.

An effect of such amendment would be to encourage other public-spirited citizens who have already indicated a desire to make gifts to the United Nations as well as to free the Rockefeller gift according to the conditions of the grant.

This amendment is positively in the public interest because it would tend to make the United Nations effective. The United States has the largest stake of any nation in the efficiency of the United Nations. The act of foregoing taxation on such gifts seems justified from an economic viewpoint also. If the Rockefeller gift should be forfeited by failure to exempt it no economic advantage would result to the United States. If the United Nations should attempt to rescue the gift from forfeiture by assuming the tax and paying it, a large part of the contributions by Member States would fall on the United States.

If other benefactors should be encouraged by such an exemption to make gifts to the United Nations their property as well as the Manhattan site would be in the United States constituting a part

of

The President,

The White House.



- 2 -

of the physical wealth of the United States. In part from this exemption there would arise structures of very great value, utility and moral consequence.

The General Counsel of the Secretary General is most reluctant to advise him to sign a contract for the purchase of this expensive property in Manhattan until it is certain that the condition of Mr. Rockefeller's gift has been fulfilled and that the purchase price will be forthcoming.

Through the generosity and cooperation of the vendors of the property Mr. Rockefeller has been able to arrange for an extension of the option until February 28, 1947. This extension allows time for deliberation and passage of the necessary legislation.

Enclosed is draft of joint resolution which would accomplish the purposes desired. This draft has been prepared by the office of the Chief Counsel for the Bureau of Internal Revenue in collaboration with the Department of State and has been approved by the General Counsel of the Treasury. You will notice that it grants deductions for contributions to the United Nations for purposes not only of the gift tax but of income and estate taxes.

Respectfully yours,

Warren R. Austin



Warren R. Austin

Send Snyder copy
for approval for files
HST

B File

JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr.
14th Dist. MASSACHUSETTS

The Speaker's Rooms
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
FEB 8 8 27 AM '47
RECEIVED

February 6, 1947

Honorable Harry S. Truman
The President of the United States
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I wish to acknowledge your letter of February 6, 1947 together with the draft of a Joint Resolution "Granting for income, estate, and gift tax purposes deductions for contributions to the United Nations".

This Resolution will be referred to the appropriate committee.



Sincerely,

JWM:E

B File

STANDARD FORM NO. 74-A
APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT
MARCH 10, 1935

TELEGRAM

OFFICIAL BUSINESS—GOVERNMENT RATES
FULL RATEHonorable Warren R. Austin
United States Representative to the United Nations
250 West 57th Street
New York 19, N. Y.

FROM

The White House
Washington

February 26, 1947

85-A

x137-A
x137

By direction of the President I am informing you that he today approved H. J. Res. 121, Joint Resolution granting, in the case of income, estate, and gift taxes, deductions for contributions to the United Nations. He has also sent to the Senate today your nomination to be the Representative of the United States of America on the United Nations Commission for Conventional Armaments. Regards.

x85-y

WILLIAM D. HASSETT
Secretary to the President

B File

Filed
10-25-49

6-1-24

85-A

August 30, 1949

PRIORITY

MEMORANDUM FOR

HONORABLE DEAN RUSK, X20
Deputy Under Secretary of State.

Dear Dean:

I have kept the original of your memorandum about the President attending the laying of the cornerstone of the United Nations building on October 24th. Frankly, the President hopes to be able to take part in those ceremonies but, with the situation in Congress as it is, he does not feel that he wants to make any firm commitment just now. We are keeping this in our pending file, and I do hope that a little later on it can be worked out.

#

X419 Minc.

Thank you.



MATTHEW J. CONNELLY
Secretary to the President.

RS:rlk
Encl

U.S. - 21 00 00 00

~~RESTRICTED~~

DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

August 26, 1949
*OK but no
final commitment
just*MEMORANDUM TO MR. MATTHEW J. CONNELLY

In conversation with Secretary Acheson yesterday, the President said he would be willing to take part during October in the laying of the cornerstone of the United Nations building in New York City. The most suitable occasion for this ceremony is October 24, the fourth anniversary of the coming into effect of the United Nations Charter. In order that plans may go forward, will you let me know as soon as possible whether this date is acceptable to the President, so that we can inform the appropriate United Nations officials. At the proper time we will be glad to send to you a draft of appropriate remarks for the President's consideration.

Dean Rusk
Dean Rusk

~~RESTRICTED~~

85-B

Independence, Missouri.
June 27, 1945.

Dear Ed:

On the day after the death of President Roosevelt, you submitted to me your resignation as Secretary of State. I asked you to continue at your post and to carry out the vitally important assignment for which you were then completing the last preparations — to act as Chairman of the United States delegation at the United Nations Conference.

You accepted that responsibility. It was a very grave responsibility. Upon the success of the San Francisco Conference depended, first of all, the hope that from this war the United Nations could build a lasting peace.

The San Francisco Conference has now fulfilled its purpose. The Charter of a permanent United Nations has been written. You have every reason to be proud of your part in this achievement from the beginning.

At the request of Mr. Hull after the Moscow Conference in 1943 you, as Under Secretary of State, organized and directed the preparations for Dumbarton Oaks. You were the representative of the United States and acted as the Chairman of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, where the Proposals were written that became the basis of the Charter. You were at President Roosevelt's right hand at Yalta, where further decisions on the world organization were made and agreement to hold the United Nations Conference was reached.

All the preparations for the San Francisco Conference were under your direction. During its deliberations you served not only as Chairman of the United States delegation but as President of the Conference charged with the conduct of its business. The task of guiding the work of this Conference of fifty different nations toward unanimous agreement upon the Charter was a difficult one. You accomplished it with skill, unfaltering courage, and success.

Copies filed 20 -

B

F

Original
for File

- 2 -

But the task of fulfilling the promise of the San Francisco Conference has only just begun. The Charter must be ratified and the United Nations Organization brought into being and put to work. It is necessary to the future of America and the world that the words of this Charter be built into the solid structure of peace for which the world is waiting and praying.

I can think of no better way to express the confidence of the United States in the future of The United Nations than to choose as the American representative in that task a man who has held with distinction the highest appointive office in the Government and has been more closely associated with the creation of the Charter than any other.

I have asked you if you would accept nomination as The Representative of the United States to The United Nations, when the organization is established. As such you would be the United States member of the Security Council and Chairman of the United States delegation in the General Assembly. You have told me that you would accept this great responsibility.

I therefore now accept your resignation as Secretary of State.

I intend to submit the United Nations Charter to the Senate on Monday and to ask for its prompt ratification. You have told me that you feel it is of the utmost importance for you, as Chairman of the United States delegation, to be immediately available to the Senate for whatever assistance and information it needs in connection with its consideration of the Charter.

I wanted you to come with me to the meeting with Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill which will take place next month. But, since I shall be away during the Congressional hearings, I have reluctantly agreed to your suggestion that you remain in Washington while I am away. In that capacity you will represent me before the Senate in all matters relating to the Charter.

I also ask you to supervise, as the personal representative of the President, the work of the United States members of the Preparatory Commission pending ratification of the Charter and your nomination as the Representative of the United States to the United Nations.



B-15

- 3 -

I am confident that you will continue to fulfill with honor to yourself and with benefit to America and the cause of peace the high trust which your country reposes in you.

Very sincerely yours,

(Sgd) HARRY S. TRUMAN

The Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.



cgr:mb

Original Recd

4460

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 6, 1945

85-A

Preparatory
Commission

Dear Ed:

I have allotted \$377,500 from the President's
Emergency Fund to the Department of State to cover
your salary at the rate which you have been receiving
and the salaries and expenses of your staff.

12-53-C

I have been so pressed with matters which must be
attended to prior to my departure that I have not been
able to work out with you and the Secretary of State
the details of your work with the Preparatory Commission.
However, your chief task while I shall be away ~~will be~~
in connection with the presentation of the Charter to
the Senate. I am sure that there will be full coopera-
tion between you and the State Department in this, and
when I get back we can settle the details of the Prepara-
tory Commission work.

x 85-N

I shall always be available by telephone or cable
if you need me, and wish you every success in this
vitaly important work.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd) HARRY S. TRUMAN

Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., #

Washington, D. C.



Copy sent to the Bureau of the Budget, attention of Mr.
Bailey, 7/25/45, clb

2000 2000

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 6, 1945

File
7-11-45

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Stettinius called and thought that unless the draft of letter dated July fourth, which he states was worked out with the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, can be signed, it would be better not to have any letter signed at this time.

M. C. L.



THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

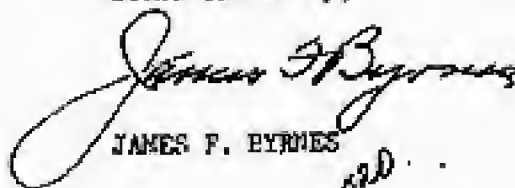
July 5, 1945

Dear Mr. President:

I think the enclosed form of letter will take care of the Stettinius situation until we return. The letter is a slightly revised form of the letter I read to you at lunch.

The Director of the Budget is sending over to you through Judge Rosenman the amount of the allocation of funds to be inserted in the letter when it is sent. I understand that the form of the letter I suggest is quite satisfactory to the Director of the Budget.

Yours sincerely,


JAMES F. BYRNES

The President,

The White House.



*filed
79 aut.
2000-23
46-7*

*Copy sent [illegible]
[illegible]*

Dear Ed:

I have allotted \$_____ from the President's Emergency Fund to the Department of State to cover your salary at the rate which you have been receiving and the salaries and expenses of your staff.

I have been so pressed with matters which must be attended to prior to my departure that I have not been able to work out with you and the Secretary of State the details of your work with the Preparatory Commission. However, your chief task while I shall be away will be in connection with the presentation of the Charter to the Senate. I am sure that there will be full cooperation between you and the State Department in this, and when I get back we can settle the details of the Preparatory Commission work.

I shall always be available by telephone or cable if you need me, and wish you every success in this vitally important work.

Sincerely yours,

Honorable Edward R. Stettinius

Washington, D. C.



Original draft of letter as
revised in Mr. Stettinius's
office.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 4, 1945.

Dear Ed;

You are hereby designated Personal Representative of the President, to be effective June 28, 1945. In this capacity you will be responsible only to me in all matters relating to the Charter and the United Nations Organization during consideration of the Charter by the Senate. You will also supervise the United States participation in the work of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations at London.

You are hereby authorized to call upon the departments and agencies of the Government for any facilities, personnel and assistance which you may require in the performance of your duties.

I am enclosing a letter of allocation of funds from the President's Emergency Fund to cover your compensation and expenses, and the compensation and expenses of your Staff for the period June 28, 1945 to December 31, 1945 inclusive.

As I stated in my letter to you of June 27, I shall, when the United Nations Organization is established, nominate you as the Representative of the United States

to



Original Received
for the President

- 2 -

to the United Nations. As such you will be the United States member of the Security Council and Chairman of the United States delegation in the General Assembly.

Sincerely yours,

4

85-A
Preparatory Commission

August 13, 1945.

My dear Ed:

I take pleasure in appointing you as the United States Representative on the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations established by agreement signed in San Francisco on June 26, 1945. In carrying out this responsibility you will have the personal rank of Ambassador.

With all best wishes for your success in this vitally important undertaking.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd) HARRY S. TRUMAN

The Honorable
Edward W. Stettinius, Jr.,
Personal Representative
of the President,
The White House.

A true copy of
the record of
the meeting of
the Commission
on the
Preparatory
Commission
of the
United Nations
on
August 13, 1945.

SPA:JCGross:PR

W. G. Hall
10/1/45

Original 13
1 of 13

*Whole House Bill:**This was personally presented
by Loring of State - He failed
to leave memo for your files
C. Connor*DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

August 8, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Appointment of American Representative
to the Preparatory Commission of the
United Nations

During our absence consideration has been given in the Department to the question of United States representation on the United Nations Preparatory Commission at London and it has been recommended that Mr. Stettinius be designated United States Representative for this purpose with the personal rank of Ambassador. I understand that this proposal is agreeable to Mr. Stettinius and I concur. Accordingly, I enclose for your signature, if you approve, a letter designating Mr. Stettinius as indicated.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY

August 9, 1945

Mr. Ayres
The White House

The Secretary of State today sent a draft letter to the President appointing Mr. Stettinius the United States representative on the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations. Whether it has been signed I do not know.

When the President shall have signed it, I feel that you will want to give something to the press, and take the liberty of submitting a draft press release for your convenience.

M. J. McDevitt x 20

Attachment:
Proposed press release,
as stated above.



SA/H:MMJN:mjh

DRAFT WHITE HOUSE
PRESS RELEASE

It was announced at the White House today that the President had appointed Mr. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. as the United States Representative on the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations established by agreement signed in San Francisco on June 26, 1945. He will have the personal rank of Ambassador.

It is not expected that Mr. Stettinius will attend ~~the~~ ^{initial} routine meetings of the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission. The first meeting of the Executive Committee has been called for August 16 in London ^{at which it} ~~It~~ is anticipated that the United States will be represented ~~at this meeting~~ by an officer of the State Department.

The text of the President's letter appointing Mr. Stettinius as the United States Representative on the Preparatory Commission follows:

August ⁹~~8~~, 1945.

My dear Ed:

I take pleasure in appointing you as the United States Representative on the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations established by agreement signed in San Francisco on June 26, 1945.



Copy 1 (100)
100

- 2 -

1945. In carrying out this responsibility you will have the personal rank of Ambassador.

With all best wishes for your success in this vitally important undertaking.

Sincerely yours,

The Honorable
Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.,
Personal Representative
of the President,
The White House.



SPA:JCRoss:PR

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AUGUST 9, 1945

The President today appointed the Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., as the United States Representative on the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, established by agreement signed in San Francisco on June 26, 1945. Mr. Stettinius will have the personal rank of Ambassador.

The text of the President's letter appointing Mr. Stettinius follows:

"August 9, 1945

"My dear Ed:

"I take pleasure in appointing you as the United States Representative on the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations established by agreement signed in San Francisco on June 26, 1945. In carrying out this responsibility you will have the personal rank of Ambassador.

"With all best wishes for your success in this vitally important undertaking.

"Sincerely yours,

"HARRY S. TRUMAN"

It is not expected that Mr. Stettinius will attend the initial routine meetings of the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission. The first meeting of the Executive Committee has been called for August 16th in London at which it is anticipated that the United States will be represented by an officer of the State Department.



Original Filed

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

85-A

Preparatory Commission

AUGUST 9, 1945

The President today appointed the Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., as the United States Representative on the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, established by agreement signed in San Francisco on June 26, 1945. Mr. Stettinius will have the personal rank of Ambassador.

The text of the President's letter appointing Mr. Stettinius follows:

August 9, 1945

"My dear Ed:

"I take pleasure in appointing you as the United States Representative on the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations established by agreement signed in San Francisco on June 26, 1945. In carrying out this responsibility you will have the personal rank of Ambassador.

"With all best wishes for your success in this vitally important undertaking.

"Sincerely yours,

"HARRY S. TRUMAN"

It is not expected that Mr. Stettinius will attend the initial routine meetings of the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission. The first meeting of the Executive Committee has been called for August 16th in London at which it is anticipated that the United States will be represented by an officer of the State Department.



Mr. Latta says another appointment will come thru later. This is pending.

BEB

Original for
for Press

85-A

Preparatory Commission

September 4, 1945

My dear Mr. Stevenson,

I take pleasure in appointing you as Deputy
United States Representative on the Preparatory Com-
mission of the United Nations established by agree-
ment signed in San Francisco on June 26, 1945. In
carrying out this responsibility you will have the
personal rank of Minister.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd) HARRY S. TRUMAN

Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

W.C.

Original to
State 9/4/45



Notes
H.W.

Original
File

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

7

September 4, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Appointment of Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson

I am sending to you herewith a letter, for your signature, formalizing the appointment of Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson as Deputy United States Representative on the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations.

You will also find attached a draft press release covering this appointment.

J. F. B.
J. F. B.
220



DRAFT PRESS RELEASE

The President today announced the appointment of Adlai E. Stevenson, Chicago, as Deputy United States Representative on the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations.

Mr. Stevenson, who will have the personal rank of Minister, resigned recently as Special Assistant to the Secretary of State to return to private law practice in Chicago, but has agreed to serve as Deputy for Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., recently named as the United States Representative on the Preparatory Commission, during the organization period in London.

The Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission has already begun its work. Mr. Stettinius arrived in London last weekend and Mr. Stevenson is leaving immediately.



529 AM

85-A

DEC 21 1945

My dear Mr. Stettinius:

It gives me great pleasure to appoint you as the Representative of the United States to the United Nations with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary and as the Representative of the United States in the Security Council of the United Nations. x 85-p

In carrying out the important duties of your office you will act in accordance with my instructions transmitted by the Secretary of State or in such other manner as I may direct, and in particular any and all votes which may be cast by you as the Representative of the United States in the Security Council will be in accordance with such instructions. You will also be guided by the provisions of applicable legislation, in particular the United Nations Participation Act of 1945. x 20

The importance of the success of the United Nations organization cannot be overestimated and the responsibility which this Government bears for contributing to that success is a significant one. I am confident that you will discharge your duties in the same distinguished manner in which you have performed the functions of other high offices which you #

have

The Honorable
Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.,
The White House. x W.C.

- 2 -

have held in our Government and that you can count upon the fullest cooperation of all officers of our Government.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

154-2

the account of

AFL

1946

DATE	NUMBER
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ORDINARY	
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DEFERRED	
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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

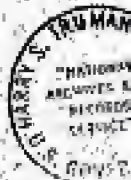
CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

RADIOGRAM

Washington, D.C.
January 10, 1946Hon. James F. Byrnes
American Embassy
London, England

At the San Francisco United Nations Conference the American Federation of Labor upheld the position that in accord with democratic procedures the working people of the United States should have representation within their government's delegations to United Nations conferences dealing with matters affecting their interests. PARAGRAPH The American Federation of Labor deeply regrets that it has been denied the opportunity to bring to the United States Delegation the benefit of its experience and practical knowledge of human needs in the economic and social fields or to reflect its views on the fundamental political policies involved in winning a just and enduring peace. In the absence of that direct participation, I am setting forth the position of the seven million men and women for whom the American Federation of Labor has the responsibility of representing directly. PARAGRAPH The International Labor Organization which has contributed notably to the cause of social justice throughout the past quarter of a century, should be brought into relationship with the United Nations Organization. The tripartite character of this international organization must be maintained, the scope of its functions preserved, its autonomy and direct access to governments fully safeguarded. PARAGRAPH No official status should be granted to any non-governmental international organization so long as the United Nations Organization is composed of sovereign nations. However, should the United Nations Organization establish consultative relations with non-governmental international organizations national organizations in the same fields but not affiliated to such international agencies shall be accorded the same relationship. PARAGRAPH The principles of the Atlantic Charter should be the foundation for wholehearted cooperation



B-1110

the account of

SERVICE SECURED	
CABLE	
ORDINARY	
URGENT	
DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER	

Small class of service
is also possible and is
not charged for
or included in
the cable.

WESTERN UNION

1211

A. M. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

including telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Hon. James F. Byrnes -2

to attain a just and enduring peace to stand on the solid foundations of the Four Freedoms. PARAGRAPH In conclusion the American Federation of Labor insists that it be accorded recognition in event consultants are selected from Labor in the United States.

WILLIAM GREEN

NOTE
RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

Above radiogram to be sent also to following



HON. EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, JR.
HON. TOM CONALLY
HON. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG
MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

all to be addressed to AMERICAN EMBASSY,
London, England

RmP

85-2

January 12, 1946

My dear Mr. Winant:

It gives me great pleasure to designate you to act as the Representative of the United States in the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations for the organizing meetings of the Council to be held during or immediately after the current meetings of the United Nations Assembly. 85-2

In carrying out this assignment you will act in accordance with my instructions, transmitted by the Secretary of State, or in such other manner as I may direct, and in particular any and all votes which may be cast by you acting as the Representative of the United States in the Economic and Social Council will be in accordance with such instructions. You will also be guided by the provisions of applicable legislation, in particular the United Nations Participation Act of 1945.

The prompt development and execution of plans for the effective organization of the Economic and Social Council is vital to the successful accomplishment of the many important tasks with which it will have to deal. I am confident that your contribution to the work of organizing the Council will be fully

in



The Honorable
John G. Winant, 486
Ambassador of the United States, 1117 1298
London, England.

- 2 -

in keeping with your past achievements and I wish
you all possible success in this new undertaking.

Sincerely yours,



(Sgd) HARRY S. TRUMAN

MR. HOPKINS

Would it be possible to have a
copy of this? J.H.

Mr. Ingalls,

Attached is a
copy of the report
by J.H.



4707

January 12, 1946

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE

The President has signed, and I am returning to you herewith for delivery, the letter submitted with your memorandum of January eleventh, designating Ambassador Winant to act as the Representative of the United States in the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.



M. C. LATTA
Executive Clerk

elb

Ltr of 1/12/46 signed by the President to Ambassador John G. Winant, London, England, as above.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Dean Peterson
x20

Draft letter

85-P

7

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTONMEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Nomination of Herschel V. Johnson x888
as the Deputy Representative of the U. S.
United States in the Security
Council of the United Nations.

There is transmitted herewith the nomination of Herschel V. Johnson, of North Carolina, as the Deputy Representative of the United States of America, with the rank and status of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, in the Security Council of the United Nations. #

This nomination is in accordance with Public Law 264, Sec. 2(b), and for your convenience in considering it there is enclosed a biographical sketch of Mr. Johnson.

Letters to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and to the appropriate Senators have been prepared and will be forwarded upon submission of the nomination to the Senate.

x20

Enclosures:

Nomination and
Biographical Sketch.

Sent to Senate 4/11/46

Herschel V. Johnson, born, Atlanta, Georgia; May 3, 1894; University of North Carolina, B.A. 1916; Harvard Law School 1919-20; instructor in French, Chamberlayne School for Boys, Richmond, Virginia, 1916-17; United States Army 1917-19, captain overseas service; appointed secretary of embassy or legation of class four November 15, 1920; assigned to Berne January 12, 1921; to Sofia December 16, 1921; class three September 22, 1922; to the Department July 23, 1923; Foreign Service officer of class six July 1, 1924; class five September 20, 1924; 2d secretary at Tegucigalpa October 23, 1926; class four May 26, 1928; 1st secretary at Mexico City July 27, 1928; to the Department March 26, 1930; chief, Division of Mexican Affairs, June 12, 1930; class three July 24, 1930; 1st secretary at London February 16, 1934; attended, as substitute, meeting of Governing Body for Assistance to Refugees Coming from Germany, London, 1934; class two October 1, 1935; consul general May 14, 1936; delegate, International Conference on Whaling, London, 1937; counselor of embassy at London July 8, 1937; delegate, meetings of International Sugar Council, London, 1937-41; chairman of American delegate, International Conference for Regulation of Whaling, London, 1938, 1939; class one November 16, 1939; minister counselor at London February 11, 1941; Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Sweden October 21, 1941.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

FILED BY
MISS CONWAY
JUN 27 1952

April 10, 1946

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

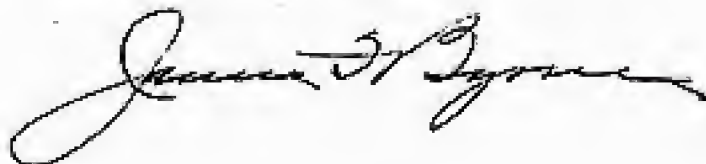
Subject: Appointment of Herschel Johnson ✓

I have asked and Connelly has arranged, for you to see Mr. Herschel Johnson at 12:30 tomorrow, the interview not to exceed five minutes. Johnson is our Minister to Sweden.

After trying to get several experienced men to accept the appointment as Deputy to Stettinius, I prevailed on Johnson to accept. It is a financial sacrifice for him.

He expects to leave Friday for Sweden to wind up his affairs. He wished to speak to you so that he could convey some message from you to the officials of the Swedish Government so that when he says goodbye to the Swedish officials he can say that he saw you and can convey to them your good wishes.

I will ask Judge Latta to present Johnson's commission for your signature.



TELEGRAM

DAY LETTER

The White House
Washington

May 15, 1946

Clark M. Eichelberger,
Director,
American Association for the United Nations,
45 East 65th Street,
New York, N. Y.

I take great pleasure in thus joining you in greeting John G. Winant
in his new role as representative of the United States on the Economic
and Social Council of the United Nations. #

The Economic and Social Council is an agency to which I attach much importance. Many of the mechanisms of the United Nations are necessarily designed to deal with international crises after they have arisen. The Economic and Social Council and its related agencies are designed, among other things, to prevent critical situations from developing. To the extent that these agencies are successful, the Security Council will be relieved of the burden of dealing with dangerously exacerbated issues. Yet I should like also to point out that the Economic and Social Council is not intended to be merely a preventive device. With its related agencies, it is designed to promote better and stabler conditions of life for all the peoples of the United Nations. As such, it embodies a positive ideal that should command wide respect for its operations.

The United States is fortunate that it can avail itself of the leadership of John G. Winant in this work. As the first chairman of the Social Security Board and later, through five long, dark years as Ambassador to Great Britain, he has represented the valiant and constructive aspects of democratic power. The Economic and Social Council gains strength and promise from his acceptance of this post. As I greet him, I congratulate all those in whose behalf the Economic and Social Council labors.



HARRY S. TRUMAN

xpp72298
x486

85-Q

xpp72298
x486

OK in T.C.

5-15-46

FILE MEMO:

We need no written request for this message.
Francis Russell in State Dept. called Mr. Hassett &
suggested it be sent. Mr. Hassett asked him to
furnish a draft.

M. Williams



AMERICAN OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HASSETT

Attached is a suggested draft from the
President to the dinner which is being tendered
to Ambassador Winant in New York city tomorrow
~~(May 16) evening.~~



Francis H. Russell
Francis H. Russell
Acting Director
Office of Public Affairs

Delivery is May 15th not the 16th



(COPY)

June 5, 1946

6-11-46

85-A

RECEIVED
JUN 11 1946
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE

The President announced that at this time he would not appoint a representative to succeed Mr. Stettinius.

The President wishes to appoint to that office Senator of Warren H. Austin/Vermont. ^{xw.c.} Because of the constitutional provision (that no Senator should be appointed to an office during the term for which he was elected), Senator Austin will not be eligible for appointment until his term expires January 3, 1947. At that time he will be appointed by the President to the office created by statute and which has been filled by Mr. Stettinius.

The President, however, will immediately appoint Senator Austin as his Special Representative with the rank of Ambassador. Senator Austin will serve in an advisory capacity to Ambassador Herchel Johnson, who some months ago was appointed and confirmed by the Senate as the Deputy to our Representative to the United Nations. In the interim, Ambassador Johnson will be the official representative of the United States to the United Nations.

Senator Austin will resign from the Senate and devote his entire time to the work of the United Nations. He is a member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate and has for years specialized in the study of our foreign policies.

The President's selection of Senator Austin is a further evidence of his belief in bi-partisan policies where foreign relations of the United States are concerned.

19

6-11-46

July 18, 1946

C
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P
Y

TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

I nominate the following-named persons to be representatives of the United States of America to the second part of the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to be held in New York City, September 1946:

Warren R. Austin, United States Senator from the State of Vermont.

Tom Connally, United States Senator from the State of Texas.

Arthur H. Vandenberg, United States Senator from the State of Michigan.

Mrs. Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, of New York.

Sol Bloom, a Member of the United States House of Representatives from the State of New York.

In the absence of the President or the Secretary of State, Mr. Austin will be the senior representative of the United States of America to the second part of the first session of the General Assembly

THE WHITE HOUSE



July 18, 1946

0
P
Y

TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

I nominate the following-named persons to be alternate representatives of the United States of America to the second part of the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to be held in New York City, September 1946:

Charles A. Eaton, a Member of the United States House of Representatives from the State of New Jersey.

Helen Gabagan Douglas, a Member of the United States House of Representatives from the State of California.

John Foster Dulles, of New York.

Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois.



THE WHITE HOUSE

JOHN FOSTER DULLES
40 WALL STREET
NEW YORK

THE WHITE HOUSE

JUL 22 8 35 AM '46

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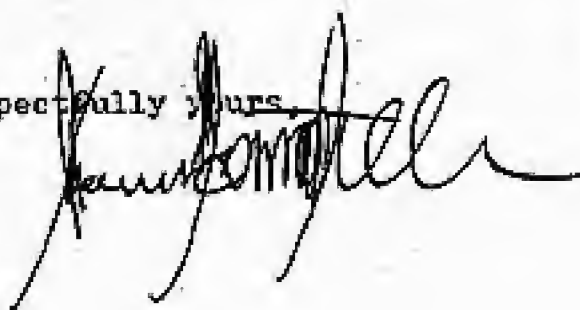
July 19, 1946

My dear Mr. President:

I have your letter of July 18, 1946. I feel honored by your reappointment of me to serve as an alternate representative of the United States to the second part of the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. You may be sure that I shall endeavor, to the best of my ability, to discharge faithfully the duties which will devolve upon me and promote the objective we all share of making the United Nations a means of advancing peace with justice in the world.

I am,

Respectfully yours,




The President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

B. E. H.

WALTER F. GEORGE, SA., CHAIRMAN
 TALLING, MASS.
 BARNLEY, NY.
 BAILEY, TEX.
 BAILEY, S. C.
 BOOD STRO, VA.
 BERRY, S. I.
 BUTTET, PA.
 FORBESON, OHIO.
 BINGLIPPE, MA.
 LUGAS, ILL.
 PLANNON, CONN.

HERB F. GEORGE, CLERK

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
 ARTHUR M. VANDERBILT, MICH.
 ROBERT A. TAPP, OHIO
 HUGH BUTLER, NEBR.
 EDWARD D. MILLER, OHIO.
 OWEN BREWSTER, MAINE
 MARSHALL J. BURNFIELD, S. CAR.
 ALBERT W. HANCOCK, N. J.
 LEONARDY BALTIMORE, MASS.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

Washington, D.
 July 19, 1946.

THE WHITE HOUSE
 JUL 20 8 26 AM '46
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The President,
 The White House,
 Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

I deeply appreciate your letter of July 18th in respect to the next meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations and your comments regarding my service in the last session. I am grateful to you for this demonstration of your continuing confidence. I shall be glad to sit again in the General Assembly - "the town meeting of the world".

I note your voting instructions. I do not anticipate any difficulties along these lines. I am on a "teamwork" basis with Secretary of State Byrnes to a completely satisfactory degree. It is therefore merely a formality (I hope) when I add that if I should find it at any time impossible to proceed under your instructions I will retire from the Delegation.

When we both have a bit of free time later in the year, I want to sit down with you for a discussion of some of the conclusions I have reached in connection with the operations of the United Nations.

Again I thank you for your very generous letter and for this further evidence of your confidence.

With warm personal regards and best wishes,

Cordially and faithfully,



Estimable

July 20, 1946

Dear Warren:

I appreciated very much your
note of the nineteenth.

It was a pleasure to me to
name you as the Senior Representative
of the General Assembly of the United
Nations.

I know you will do the job as
it should be done.

Sincerely yours,

*Harry*

Honorable Warren R. Austin
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

3 File

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
JUL 19 12 08 PM '46
RECEIVED

July 19,

Dear Mr. President:

I accept the honor of your appointment of me as "a representative of the United States to the second part of the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which is now scheduled to convene in New York in September 1946."

I appreciate, also, the honor of being named the head of the United States representation to this session as Senior Representative. I understand, of course, that during attendance of the Secretary of State, he will be Senior Representative of the United States.

Assuring you of my devoted attention to the duties and responsibilities of this great mission, I am,

Most Respectfully yours,

Warren R. Austin

The Honorable Harry S. Truman

The President

The White House.



3 file

ry S. Truman

*Enclosed Handled to Senator Austin
Aug 1 and dated Aug 3 at
his request. The form of oaths
submitted by State also handled
to him*

WJA

7

August 3, 1946

85-A

My dear Senator:

You are hereby designated to act as my Personal Representative, with the rank of Ambassador, to the United Nations, until such time as you are qualified by law to accept the appointment as Representative of the United States to the United Nations.

You will serve in an advisory capacity to the Deputy Representative, Mr. Herschel V. Johnson, who during the interim, will continue to serve as this Government's Representative to the United Nations.

I wish to express my great appreciation of your willingness to accept this appointment and my entire confidence in your ability to discharge the duties of the appointment with distinction to yourself and with honor to your country.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd) HARRY S. TRUMAN

The Honorable *x W.C.*
Warren R. Austin, *x PP7322*
United States Senate.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE ~~COMMONS~~ Secretary

June 8, 1946

Austin will not resign as Senator for several days. Therefore, I suggest holding this until Austin advises you to release it. I have requested him to communicate with you.

J.F.B.

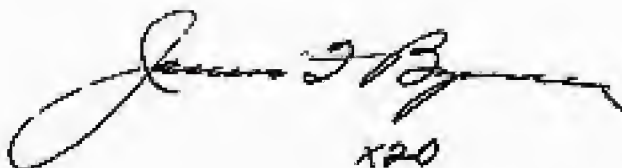
*Handled
WJA*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

June 8, 1946

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LATTA

I am enclosing for the President's signature, if he approves, the letter of appointment to Senator Warren R. Austin, as the President's Personal Representative, with the rank of Ambassador, to the United Nations.


x20

Enclosure:

Letter of appointment to
Senator Warren R. Austin.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

85-A

January 3, 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. LATTA

Warren R.

Under Secretary Acheson phoned to inquire if Senator Austin's nomination would be going up today. I told him that it would probably not go up until after the President's Message on the State of the Union. He asked if you will please let him know as soon as it is determined when it will be sent to the Senate so that Secretary Byrnes can speak to Senator White about it. Mr. Acheson said it was the Secretary's intention to ask Senator White that the nomination be confirmed at once without reference to Committee.

see

W. J. H.

*Inform Mr. Acheson
to pick up at home
1/8/47*

B File



HOLD FOR RELEASE UNTIL DELIVERED TO THE SENATE

CHARLES G. ROSS
Secretary to the President

NOMINATIONS SENT TO THE SENATE ON JANUARY 10, 1947:

Warren R. Austin, of Vermont, whom I nominated January 8, 1947, to be the Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, and the Representative of the United States of America in the Security Council of the United Nations, I now also x85-P
nominate to serve concurrently and without additional compensation
as the Representative of the United States of America on the United Nations Commission on Atomic Energy. x85-R

William C. Trimble, of Maryland, now a Foreign Service Officer of Class three and a Secretary in the Diplomatic Service, to be also a Consul of the United States of America,

John Willard Carrigan, of California, now a Foreign Service Officer of Class four and a Secretary in the Diplomatic Service, to be also a Consul of the United States of America.

John D. Clifford, Jr., of Maine, to be United States District Judge for the District of Maine, vice Honorable John A. Peters, retired,

B

4/13/47
Austin to Senate

85-8

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 14, 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

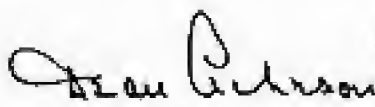

85-A

Subject: Nominations of Warren R. Austin and
Herschel V. Johnson as the Repre-
sentative and the Alternate Repre-
sentative, respectively, to the Special
Session of the General Assembly of
the United Nations.

There are transmitted herewith the nominations of
Warren R. Austin, of Vermont, and Herschel V. Johnson,
of North Carolina, as the Representative and the
Alternate Representative, respectively, of the United
States of America to the Special Session of the General
Assembly of the United Nations which has recently been
called to consider primarily the problems relating to
Palestine. x w c x 8 #

These nominations are in accordance with Section
2 (c) of Public Law 264.

Letters to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign
Relations of the Senate and to the appropriate Senators
have been prepared and will be forwarded upon submission
of the nominations to the Senate.


Acting Secretary 

Enclosure:
Nominations.

X 20

April 28, 1947

Subject: UNITED NATIONS

1. Woodrow Wilson failed.
2. Roosevelt and Truman succeeded.
3. How capitalize this for 1948?
4. Roosevelt gained popularity on foreign policy in spite of domestic problems.
5. Foreign policy may very well prove to be the key in 1948.
6. Stettinius is friendly.
7. President Truman should request Stettinius to write the story - - Moscow conference, Dumbarton Oaks, Mexico, San Francisco, etc. He is only one with the real story of how UN planned; how brought about, etc.
8. Stettinius and General Marshall good friends; therefore, State Department would cooperate.
9. Basic records are in the State Department.
10. Roosevelt was going to do it; Hopkins was going to do it; Hull was going to do it; Stettinius CAN do it.
11. Stettinius will give full credit to the President for carrying it through and will work with White House in complete cooperation and good will.



5-111e

CONFIDENTIALTHE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

October 18, 1951

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

In connection with the current Senate consideration of your appointments to the United Nations Delegation, Senators Sparkman and Fulbright are displaying great skill in working toward a satisfactory solution. There is still a very slight possibility of a favorable vote by the full Committee and confirmation of the entire Delegation by the Senate. It now appears almost certain, barring some untoward development, that it will be possible to prevent a negative vote by either the full Committee or the Senate.

I believe you may get some questions at your press conference with respect to these confirmations.

If you are asked a general question about the appointments, I hope you will be able to confine your answer to a simple statement that the Senate Committee has not completed its consideration of these appointments and that you therefore do not wish to comment at this time.

If a further question is asked as to whether or not you will give recess appointments to the entire Delegation, or particularly to Dr. Jessup, I hope you will find it possible to state that you can add nothing to the above suggested answer, or simply answer "No comment."

This affords the best background for the Senators who are working with us and completely reserves your own position for some strong action, which may be necessary a little later.

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12065, Sec. 3-402

Dept. Guidelines, March 6, 1982

NLT, Date 10-12-85

HARRY S. TRUMAN LIBRARY

CONFIDENTIAL

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8-5-47

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

July 24, 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Salary Rates for United States Representatives
in United Nations Organs

x98-A

At the time of the original appointments of Representatives in certain organs of the United Nations, including the Economic and Social Council and the Commissions of the Council, the Trusteeship Council, and the Commission of Investigation established by the Security Council of the United Nations on December 19, 1946, no provision was made for specifying the salary as required under the provisions of Section 2(d) of Public Law 264.

The attached memoranda have been prepared for your signature, if you approve, authorizing payment of salary at the rates specified.

[Handwritten signature]

Enclosures:



Draft Memoranda to the
Secretary of State (7)

*Miss Cack, State Dept. asked
that these letters be signed
without being dated.*

*They were signed by the President
July 25, 1947 and filed to State
7/28/47*

B_Eile

D R A F T

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Pursuant to Section 2 (d) of Public Law 264,
I have appointed, as of April 11, 1946, Mr. John G. Winant
as United States Representative in the Economic and Social
Council of the United Nations.

A salary at the rate of \$12,000 per annum is
authorized for the period of the appointment.

*note for
Files - Mr. Winant served from March,
1946 - until January 10, 1947, the date he
resigned. This authority for salary was
for the time he actually served. Mr.
Miller furnished this information when
Files called attention to the fact this
memo. might indicate he was still
serving. S.B.*

B. Elle

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

Pursuant to Section 2 (d) of Public Law 264,
I have appointed, as of April 11, 1946, Mr. John G. Winant
as United States Representative in the Economic and Social
Council of the United Nations.

A salary at the rate of \$12,000 per annum is
authorized for the period of the appointment.



HARRY S. TRUMAN

x486
x85-Q

B

Filed
June

7

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE: *x20*

Pursuant to Section 2 (d) of Public Law 264,

I have appointed, as of February 28, 1947, Mr. Francis B.

Sayre as United States Representative in the Trusteeship

of Council
of the
Council of the United Nations.

A salary at the rate of \$12,000 per annum is
authorized for the period of the appointment.



HARRY S. TRUMAN

3

Original from
the Secretary

*Walter
Gibson*

2

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

Pursuant to Section 2 (d) of Public Law 264,
I have appointed, as of February 6, 1947, Mr. George P.
Baker as United States Member of the Transport and Com-
munications Commission of the Economic and Social Council
of the United Nations.

A salary at the rate of \$12,000 per annum,
when actually employed, is authorized for the period of
the appointment.

*Transport &
communications Commission
Spec*



HARRY S. TRUMAN

B-5
*Galvin
Harris*

2

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

Pursuant to Section 2 (d) of Public Law 264,
I have appointed, as of February 8, 1947, Miss Dorothy
Kenyon as United States Member of the Commission on the
Status of Women of the Economic and Social Council of
the United Nations.

A salary at the rate of \$12,000 per annum,
when actually employed, is authorized for the period
of the appointment.

*2 Commission on Status
of Women folder*



HARRY S. TRUMAN

B F

Original. Recd.

*Filed
Adm.*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

Pursuant to Section 2 (d) of Public Law 264,
I have appointed, as of February 6, 1947, Mr. Isador Lubin
as United States Member of the Economic and Employment
Commission of the Economic and Social Council of the
United Nations.

A salary at the rate of \$12,000 per annum,
when actually employed, is authorized for the period of
the appointment.



HARRY S. TRUMAN

**85-Q Economic & Employment Commission for*

B

F

Original Filed

J

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Pursuant to Section 2 (d) of Public Law 264,

I have appointed, as of February 5, 1947, Mrs. Anna Eleanor

Roosevelt as United States Member of the Human Rights

Commission of the Economic and Social Council of the

United Nations.

Human Rights Commission

A salary at the rate of \$12,000 per annum,

when actually employed, is authorized for the period of

the appointment.



HARRY S. TRUMAN

B-4

2

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

Pursuant to Section 2 (d) of Public Law 264,

I have appointed, as of December 26, 1946, Mr. Mark Foster Ethridge as United States Representative on the Commission of Investigation, established by the Security Council of the United Nations on December 19, 1946, to ascertain the facts relating to alleged border violations along the frontier between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia on the other.

A salary at the rate of \$12,000 per annum is authorized for the period of the appointment.

Commission of Investigation folder



HARRY S. TRUMAN

8

Original Filed
for Reg. 100-10

85-1

7

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 13, 1948

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Nominations of three United States
Representatives and two Alternates
to the Special Session of the
General Assembly of the United
Nations. #

There are transmitted herewith the nominations of three United States Representatives and two Alternate United States Representatives to the Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, to be held in New York, New York, beginning April 16, 1948.

These nominations are in accordance with the provisions of Section 2 (c) of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945, and the provisions of Articles 9 and 20 of the United Nations Charter.

Biographical sketches of Messrs. Jessup, Rusk, and Ross are attached.

Letters to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and to the appropriate Senators have been prepared and will be forwarded upon submission of the nominations to the Senate.

Robert H. H. H.

Acting Secretary

xao

Enclosures:
Biographical
Sketches, Nominations.



B Etc.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

PHILIP C. JESSUP. - Prof. International law; born New York, N.Y. Jan. 5, 1897; s. Henry Wynans and Mary Hay (Stotesbury) J.; A.B. Hamilton Coll., 1919; LL.D., 1937; LL.B., Yale, 1924; A.E. Columbia U. 1924, Ph.D. 1927; LL.D., Western Reserve U., 1941; m. Lois Walcott Kellogg, July 23, 1921; 1 son, Philip C. Admitted to the D.C. bar, 1925; N.Y. Bar 1927; mem. Parker & Duryee, 1927-43; lecturer internat'l law, Columbia U., 1925-27, assist. professor, 1927-29, asso. prof., 1929-35, professor since 1935; was asst. solicitor U.S. Dept. of State, 1924-25; asst. to Elihu Root, Conf. of Jurists on Permanent Ct. Internat'l Justice, 1929; lecturer Acad. Internat'l Law, The Hague, 1929; legal adviser to Am. Ambassador to Cuba, 1930; Chmn. div. Office Fgn. Relief., U.S. Dept. of State, Feb.-Dec., 1943; asst. sec. gen. U.N.R.R.A. and Bretton Woods Conference, 1943-44. Served with A.E.F., World War. Awarded Hungarian Cross of Merit, Class II; Official Orden Nacional de Cruzeiro do Sul, Brazil. Chairman Pacific Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1938-42; trustee Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; member, board of directors, Foreign Policy Association; member, American Bar Association, Maritime Law Association of U.S., American Philos. Society, National Institute of Social Sciences, A.A.A.S., Sigma Phi; foreign corr. member Academia de Ciencias Politicas y Sociales of Venezuela, Instituto Argentino de Derecho Internat'l, Instituto Chileno de Estudios Internacionales. Club: Century (New York). Author: The Law of Territorial Waters and Maritime Jurisdiction, 1927; The United States and the World Court, 1929; American Neutrality and Internat'l Polico, 1928; Internat'l Security, 1935; Neutrality, Its History, Economics and Law, Vol. I, The Origins (with Francis Deak), 1935, Vol. IV, Today and Tomorrow, 1936; Elihu Root, 1938. Editor Columbia U. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, 1929-33; member, board of editors, American Journal of Internat'l Law. Appt'd. U.S. Rep. in the Committee on the Progressive Development of International Law and its Codification, established by the General Assembly of the United Nations, Dec. 11, 1946. Appt'd Deputy Rep. of the U.S.A. on the Interim Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations Jan. 3, 1948. Address: Kent Hall, Columbia University, N.Y. 27 New York.

B P 11

DEAN RUSK - BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

X

On March 5, 1947 Mr. Rusk was appointed Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs*, the branch of the Department of State which deals with United States participation in the United Nations. He served as an Adviser to the United States Delegation to the Second Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in September 1947.

Mr. Rusk was educated in the public schools of Atlanta, Georgia and graduated from Davidson College in North Carolina in 1931. Following three years as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University, Mr. Rusk attended the University of Berlin in 1934 and later engaged in additional studies at the University of California Law School. Prior to the war Mr. Rusk served as an Associate Professor of Government and Dean of the Faculty at Mills College, Oakland, California. Called to active duty by the war in 1940, Mr. Rusk served with the Third Infantry Division and with the Military Intelligence Service. Subsequently he was made Deputy Chief of Staff in the China-Burma-India theatre and later served in the Operations Planning Division of the War Department General Staff.

Released to inactive duty in 1946, Mr. Rusk was appointed as Assistant Chief of the Division of International Security in the Department of State. In May 1946 he was appointed as Assistant to the Secretary of War, which position he held until the time of his appointment as Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs, Department of State.

* The name of this office was changed to Office of United Nations Affairs January 28, 1948.

April 9, 1948.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

~~JOHN CLAUDIUS ROSS~~^X - b. Boston, Mass., July 26, 1904; Yale, Ph.B. 1927, grad. work 1928-29, 1932-33; study in Paris 1929-32; research asst. 1933-34 and instr. 1934-37 in int. relations, Yale U.; exec. sec., Inst. of Int. Studies, Yale U., 1935-37; app. econ. analyst in the Dept. of State July 19, 1937; July 7, 1938; divisional asst. July 1, 1939; asst. Chief, Div. of Cml. Treaties and Agreements, Apr. 16, 1941; asst. chief, Div. of Cml. Policy and Agreements, Oct. 8, 1941; exec. officer of the Dept. of State and Chief, Div. of Departmental Personnel, Sept. 1, 1942; mem., Comm. on Occupational Deferments, Mar. 16, 1943-; dir., Office of Departmental Admin., Jan. 15, 1944; deputy sec. gen., United Nations Conf. on Int. Org., San Francisco, 1945; deputy dir., Office of Special Political Affairs, July 16, 1945; Deputy to the U.S. Rep. at the seat of the United Nations, March 5, 1947; married. Home, L.I., N.Y.

B-1-13

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
THE SECRETARY

Mr. Hopkins:

Here is the draft
reply to the Johnson
resignation.
With apologies.

Brundley Smith



DRAFT LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

May 26, 1948

My dear Herschel:



It is with real regret that I accept your resignation as Deputy United States Representative in the United Nations Security Council, although I am certain that in your new capacity as American Ambassador to Brazil, you will discharge your duties in an equally outstanding fashion and make a profound contribution to the relationships between the United States and Brazil.

Your service as Deputy Representative on the Security Council represented an outstanding and generous contribution to the cause of international harmony through the United Nations. I am well aware that your unceasing and untiring efforts were at considerable cost to your own health. Your Government is in debt to you for the sacrifices you have already made.

May I take this opportunity to express gratitude for your exceptional service in New York and the warmest congratulations in your future assignment.

Very sincerely yours,

The Honorable Herschel V. Johnson,
Department of State.

7

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 25, 1948

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Nomination of Philip C. Jessup xw.c.
as the Deputy Representative of
the United States in the Security
Council of the United Nations. #

There is transmitted herewith the nomination of Philip C. Jessup, of New York, as the Deputy Representative of the United States of America, with the rank and status of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, in the Security Council of the United Nations, to succeed Herschel V. Johnson whose resignation is attached hereto. In addition to this designation, he will continue to serve as the Deputy Representative of the United States on the Interim Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

In accordance with the provisions of Section 2 (b) of Public Law 264, Mr. Jessup will receive compensation at the rate of \$12,000 per annum.

Letters to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and to the appropriate Senators have been prepared and will be forwarded upon submission of the nomination to the Senate.



[Handwritten signature]
x 20

Enclosures:

1. Nomination.
2. Letter of resignation from Mr. Johnson.

(6)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 19, 1948

My dear Mr. President:

I have the honor to submit my resignation as Deputy Representative of the United States on the Security Council of the United Nations. I took the oath of office as United States Ambassador to Brazil on May 3, 1948.

Faithfully yours,



Herschel V. Johnson
Herschel V. Johnson

The President,

The White House.

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

May 28, 1948.

The President today sent the following letter to the Hon. Herschel V. Johnson, accepting his resignation as Deputy United States Representative in the United Nations Security Council;



Following is the text of Mr. Johnson's letter to the President:

7

May 28, 1948

Respectfully referred for the
files of the Department of State.



WILLIAM D. HASSETT
Secretary to the President

Transmitting copy of letter, 5/19/48, which the President received from Honorable Herschel V. Johnson tendering his resignation as Deputy Representative in the United Nations Security Council; together with a copy of the President's letter, 5/26/48, to Mr. Johnson accepting the resignation - date not indicated.

bk

of file
of file

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

May 28, 1948.

The President today sent the following letter to the Honorable Herschel V. Johnson, accepting his resignation as Deputy United States Representative in the United Nations Security Council:

My dear Herschel:

It is with real regret that I accept your resignation as Deputy United States Representative in the United Nations Security Council, although I am certain that in your new capacity as American Ambassador to Brazil, you will discharge your duties in an equally outstanding fashion and make a profound contribution to the relationships between the United States and Brazil.

Your service as Deputy Representative on the Security Council represented an outstanding and generous contribution to the cause of international harmony through the United Nations. I am well aware that your unsparing and untiring efforts were at considerable cost to your own health. Your Government is in debt to you for the sacrifices you have already made.

May I take this opportunity to express gratitude for your exceptional service in New York and the warmest congratulations in your future assignment.



Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Following is the text of Mr. Johnson's letter to the President:

May 17, 1948

My dear Mr. President:

I have the honor to submit my resignation as Deputy Representative of the United States on the Security Council of the United Nations. I took the oath of office as United States Ambassador to Brazil on May 3, 1948.

Faithfully yours,



HERSCHEL V. JOHNSON

SAF Files

85-J
JOHN FOSTER DULLES
40 WALL STREET
NEW YORK

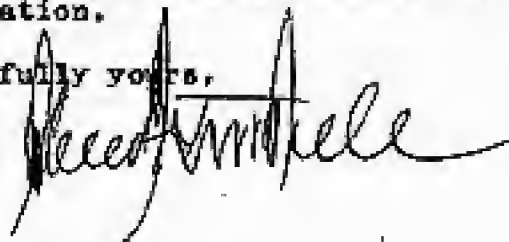
January 10, 1949

Dear Mr. President,

When you appointed me to be one of the Representatives of the United States to the Third Regular Session of the United Nations Assembly, it was assumed that that session would conclude its business in Paris and then adjourn finally. Because a few of the many agenda items could not be disposed of in Paris, it was decided to reconvene the session in New York in April. Under the circumstances, I am putting my resignation in your hands so that you and the Secretary of State will be entirely free, so far as I am concerned, to arrange for the handling of the remaining agenda items at the adjourned session.

I take this occasion to express again my very great appreciation of the confidence you reposed in me in naming me to be one of this country's Representatives at the Paris Assembly and, after Secretary Marshall's departure, to be the acting Chairman of the United States Delegation.

I am, respectfully yours,



The President
The White House

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

File
James H. Brown
2/10
5

85-9

Filed by
MR. DAWSON
MAR 17 1950

February 4, 1949

not filed
2/7/50

Dear Don:

Attached is a letter of resignation from
Mr. Benjamin V. Cohen in his capacity as United
States Representative to the General Assembly.
This letter has been held by the Department
pending consideration of the question as to
whether or not resignations of all delegates
and representatives should be requested.

In view of my discussion with you and
Assistant Secretary Rusk on this subject, it
has been agreed that we will not submit a re-
quest to all such representatives but it is
fully understood that any one that may be
wanted can be requested at the appropriate
time.

Mr. Cohen's resignation is submitted to
you so that it can be held in your office. I
am sure you will agree that it should not be
accepted now and I do not believe an acknowl-
edgment is necessary.

Sincerely yours,

John E. Feurifoy
John E. Feurifoy x20

Attachment:

Letter from Mr. Cohen.



The Honorable
Donald Dawson,
The White House.

85-P

7

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON
February 8, 1949

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Appointments to the Security Council and to the Interim Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations.



Due to the reassignment of Philip C. Jessup as Ambassador at Large, there now exists two vacancies in the United States Mission to the United Nations, namely, Deputy Representative of the United States of America in the Security Council of the United Nations, and Deputy Representative of the United States in the Interim Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

To fill these vacancies, I recommend, for your approval, the appointments of John C. Ross, now Deputy to the United States Representative to the United Nations to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as the Deputy Representative of the United States of America in the Security Council of the United Nations, and Charles P. Noyes as Deputy Representative of the United States of America on the Interim Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Mr. Noyes is to receive compensation at the rate of \$12,000 per annum. I also recommend that Mr. Ross be designated Deputy Chief of the United States Mission to the United Nations in the place of Mr. Jessup who has held this appointment also.

These appointments are in accordance with the provisions of Sections 2(b) and 2(d), respectively, of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945.

There are attached herewith for your signature the nomination of John C. Ross as Deputy Representative in the Security Council, plus a letter addressed to Mr. Ross as Deputy Chief of the United States Mission to the United Nations, and a letter addressed to Mr. Noyes as Deputy Representative on the Interim Committee of the General Assembly.

Enclosures:
Nomination and draft letters.

John C. Ross
X20

x85-A

Filed
25-9
Interim
Committee

#

To Senate 2/10/49

D R A F T

My dear Mr. Ross:

I take pleasure in designating you Deputy
Chief of Mission of the United States Mission
to the United Nations, with authority to act as
Chief of Mission during the absence of the
United States Representative to the United
Nations.



Very sincerely yours,

The Honorable
John C. Ross,
Deputy to the United States
Representative to the
United Nations.

7

February 10, 1949

Respectfully referred for the files
of the Department of State.



WILLIAM J. HOPKINS
Executive Clerk

Transmitting copy of letter, 2/10/49, which the President directed to Honorable John C. Ross, designating him Deputy Chief of Mission of the United Nations, with authority to act as Chief of Mission during absence of the United States Representative to the United Nations, also

Copy of letter, 2/10/49, which the President directed to Honorable Charles P. Moyes, appointing him deputy Representative of the United States of America on the Interim Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Filed 25-9 Interim
Committee

bk

United
States

(2. off. documents) 72/12/49

FEB 10 1949

My dear Mr. Ross:

I take pleasure in designating you Deputy
Chief of Mission of the United States Mission to the
United Nations, with authority to act as Chief of
Mission during the absence of the United States Rep-
resentative to the United Nations.



Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

x25-AA
Honorable John G. Ross, *x.w.c.*
Deputy to the United States
Representative to the
United Nations.

85-7

October 14, 1949

My dear Mr. Ross:

In connection with your appointment as Deputy
Representative of the United States of America to the
Security Council of the United Nations, you are hereby
accorded the personal rank of Minister.



Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Honorable John C. Ross, *xw.c.*
Deputy Representative of the
United States of America to the
Security Council of the United Nations.

-ram

sent to state 10/14/49 aciff

Walt

(DRAFT)

My dear Mr. Ross:

In connection with your appointment as Deputy Representative of the United States of America to the Security Council of the United Nations, you are hereby accorded the personal rank of Minister.



Very sincerely yours,

The Honorable
John C. Ross,
Deputy Representative of the
United States of America to the
Security Council of the
United Nations.

7
October 10, 1949

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Appointment of John C. Ross
as Deputy Representative to
the Security Council of the
United Nations.



Reference is made to the nomination of John C. Ross as the Deputy Representative of the United States of America, with the rank and status of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, in the Security Council of the United Nations which was sent to the Senate February 10, 1949.

In as much as the above nomination was contingent upon the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 and no senatorial action was taken up to the time of the signing of new legislation amending the Participation Act of 1945, I am transmitting herewith for your signature the withdrawal of Mr. Ross' initial appointment and a nomination made in accordance with the amended legislation as Deputy Representative of the United States of America to the Security Council of the United Nations.

I recommend that Mr. Ross receive compensation at the rate of \$17,500 per annum, and upon confirmation of his appointment by the United States Senate that he be given the personal rank of Minister.

Letters to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and to the appropriate Senators have been prepared and will be forwarded upon submission of the withdrawal and the nomination to the Senate.

approved
HARRY S. TRUMAN

JAMES E. MOHR

x 20

OCT 14 1949

Enclosures:

1. Withdrawal.
2. Nomination.

Sent to [unclear]

10/11/49



2 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N.Y.
HUSKAR Bldg 3-0810

UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

O

SSP

November 4, 1949

My dear Mr. President:

I want you to know how much I appreciate your letter of October 14 in which you accord me the personal rank of Minister in connection with my appointment as Deputy Representative of the United States of America to the Security Council of the United Nations.

Faithfully yours,



John C. Rose
John C. Rose

The President,

The White House.

~~RESTRICTED~~

DECLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Authority E.O. 10501

Memorandum of Conversation

DATE: May 4, 1949

SUBJECT: Invitation for President to Appear at the United Nations
before Adjournment of Current Session.PARTICIPANTS: The President
Dr. Herbert V. Evatt, Foreign Minister of Australia
and President of the United Nations General Assembly.
The Chief of Protocol, Mr. WoodwardCOPIES TO: 3
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G
S/D-PR
URA
White House (Mr. Connelly)

Dr. Herbert V. Evatt, Foreign Minister of Australia and presiding officer of the United Nations General Assembly, called upon the President at the White House today at 3:30 o'clock.

After a general conversation Dr. Evatt invited the President to come to New York, if at all possible, before the adjournment of the United Nations General Assembly, scheduled for about May 18th, to address the Assembly or, if he preferred, to lay the cornerstone of the new United Nations building. Dr. Evatt said that any visit to New York could be made entirely at the President's convenience.

The President thanked Dr. Evatt and said that he was sorry to have had to cancel his engagement to go to New York earlier to lay the cornerstone, but that it was essential for him to remain in Washington until important legislation had been acted upon by the Congress. The labor bill, the ratification of the Atlantic Treaty, and legislation on military assistance for Europe were three paramount issues which demanded his presence in Washington.

The President asked if the General Assembly would meet again in September in New York and whether he could

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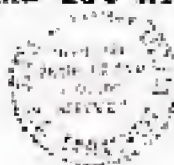
Authority E.O. 10501

-2-

lay the cornerstone at that time. Dr. Evatt said that the Assembly would meet in New York in September and that the ceremony could take place then, but that in his opinion it was important for the President to say something to the UN about the UN before it adjourned this Spring. Dr. Evatt was not enthusiastic about the Fall Gate.

As a third alternative, Dr. Evatt suggested that the President make a recording which could be broadcast to the General Assembly at one of its final meetings.

The President said that he appreciated very much Dr. Evatt's courtesy in coming to Washington to call upon him, that he would consult the Secretary of State about the three alternatives proposed and let him know.



S.V.

S/S-PK:Woodward:lbq

~~RESTRICTED~~

859

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AUGUST 24, 1950

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I am today nominating the following persons to be Representatives of the United States of America to the Fifth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, to be held at New York, New York, beginning September 19, 1950:

Warren R. Austin, of Vermont
Mrs. Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, of New York
John J. Sparkman, United States Senator from the State of Alabama
Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., United States Senator from the State of Massachusetts
John Foster Dulles, of New York

The following are being nominated to be Alternate Representatives of the United States of America to the Fifth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, to be held in New York, New York, beginning September 19, 1950:

Benjamin V. Cohen, of New York
John Sherman Cooper, of Kentucky
Ernest A. Gross, of New York
Edith S. Sampson, of Illinois
John C. Koss, of New York

The Secretary of State will be head of the Delegation, and in his absence Ambassador Austin as Senior Representative of the United States will serve as Chairman of the Delegation.

The nomination of Senator John J. Sparkman and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., to serve as Representatives represents a return to the practice of having members of Congress participate in the Delegation to the General Assembly.

The selection of Senator Sparkman and Senator Lodge has been made after consultation with the leaders in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and upon the basis of including Senators who are not up for re-election this fall. It has been agreed with the leaders of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate and of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives that two members of the House of Representatives shall be nominated to serve on the Delegation to the General Assembly next year. The participation in the Delegation of a Republican and a Democratic Senator represents another step in the bi-partisan foreign policy.



B File

Orig. filed PG 1-7

Orig. filed
for

85-J

FILED BY
MR. HOPKINS

JUN 5 1951

June 4, 1951

Respectfully referred for the files
of the Department of State.

WILLIAM J. HOPKINS
Executive Clerk

Transmitting copy of Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge's Jr., letter dated 12/5/50, tendering his resignation as a United States Delegate to the Fifth General Assembly of the United Nations; together with a copy of the President's letter dated 6/2/51 accepting his resignation effective on the date of the adjournment of the Assembly on December fifteenth.

cgm



b - File

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

15875 aut

June 2, 1951

My dear Senator Lodge:

I refer to your letter of December fifth, tendering your resignation from the United States Delegation to the Fifth General Assembly of the United Nations and suggesting that it become effective with the recess or adjournment of the General Assembly for the Christmas period. You stated that you were taking this action because it appeared that the General Assembly would remain in session for an indefinite period, a situation not foreseen at the time of your appointment.

In a letter of December twenty-seventh, Mr. Hickerson, Assistant Secretary of State for United Nations Affairs, informed you that you had been regarded as on leave of absence from the Delegation from December seventh. He stated that official letters would not be sent to the members of the Delegation until the General Assembly completed its work and adjourned formally.

As it now appears unlikely that there will be any logical terminal point for the work of the General Assembly and that it will stay in session indefinitely, I have concluded that I should no longer delay an acceptance of your resignation. In accordance with the suggestion in your letter, your resignation may be treated as effective on the date of the adjournment of the Assembly on December fifteenth upon the completion of the major portion of its agenda.

I am deeply appreciative of your services with the Delegation and of your very able contribution to its achievements.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN



Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., APP 743
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

B. File

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 29, 1951

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Resignation of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.,
as Representative to the Fifth Session of the
General Assembly of the United Nations

In a letter dated December 5, 1950, Senator Lodge requested that his resignation as Representative to the Fifth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations be accepted at the adjournment or recess of the Assembly for the Christmas period, in order that he might resume his full Senatorial duties in Washington.

On December 11, 1950, when I advised you of Senator Lodge's request and the fact that the Department had granted him official leave of absence from the Delegation, it was agreed that no action should be taken on his resignation at that time.

The Department advised Senator Lodge that he had been regarded as on official leave of absence from the Delegation from December 7, 1950, but that official letters would not be sent to the members of the Delegation until the General Assembly completed its work and adjourned formally.

Since, however, it appears that the Assembly will remain in session indefinitely, it is believed that Senator Lodge's resignation should be accepted without further delay. Senator Lodge has recently by telephone indicated his desire that his resignation be accepted. He will give no publicity to the matter.

Accordingly, if you approve, there is attached, for your signature, a draft letter addressed to Senator Lodge accepting his resignation, effective December 15, 1950. Senator Lodge's resignation is also attached.



Enclosures:

x20

1. Resignation, dated December 5, 1950.
2. Draft letter of acceptance.

B File

(D R A F T)

My dear Senator Lodge:

I refer to your letter of December 5 tendering your resignation from the United States Delegation to the Fifth General Assembly of the United Nations and suggesting that it become effective with the recess or adjournment of the General Assembly for the Christmas period. You stated that you were taking this action because it appeared that the General Assembly would remain in session for an indefinite period, a situation not foreseen at the time of your appointment.

In a letter of December 27, Mr. Hickerson, Assistant Secretary of State for United Nations Affairs, informed you that you had been regarded as on leave of absence from the Delegation from December 7. He stated that official letters would not be sent to the members of the Delegation until the General Assembly completed its work and adjourned formally.

As it now appears unlikely that there will be any logical terminal point for the work of the General Assembly and that it will stay in session indefinitely, I have concluded that I should no longer delay an acceptance of your resignation. In accordance with the suggestion in your letter, your resignation may be treated as effective on the date of the adjournment of the Assembly on December 15 upon the completion of the major portion of its agenda.

I am deeply appreciative of your services with the Delegation and of your very able contribution to its achievements.

Very sincerely yours,

The Honorable
Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.,
United States Senate.

B. E. He

TOM CONNALLY, TEL., CHAIRMAN

ER. F. GORME, SA.	ANTHONY R. YANDERSON, MCM.
ST. N. THOMAS, STAN.	ALEXANDER THULEY, WLS.
AND C. TOPPAC, MB.	ST. ALEXANDER SMITH, M. J.
MC PEPPE, PLU.	BOHNE E. S. WOODCOOPER, BWA.
MRS. FRANCES GREEN, R. I.	HEBERT CARL LODEE, JR., LARS.
MC MARR, QMM.	
MURPHY, NML.	

FRANCIS S. WOODCOOPER, CHIEF OF STAFF

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

December 5, 1950

Honorable Harry S. Truman
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

When you did me the honor last September of appointing me a United States Delegate to the Fifth General Assembly of the United Nations, it was expected that the Assembly would end its work on or about November 30 and that there would thus be no substantial conflict with prospective sessions of Congress.

It now appears, however, that due to the present world crisis the General Assembly may remain in session for an indefinite period -- something which was, of course, not foreseen at the time of my appointment. In the meantime Congress has come into session and -- again because of the crisis -- the volume of work and responsibilities in the Senate is assuming impressive proportions. In such a conflict and at such a time I feel that I should be in the Senate -- particularly in view of my membership on the Foreign Relations Committee. Moreover, the greater part of my assignments on the delegation have been completed.

Because of this conflict and because I feel you should have the opportunity to appoint someone in my place who is not prevented by other public duties from giving his full time to the work of the Assembly, I herewith submit my resignation as a United States Delegate to the Fifth General Assembly.

In order to avoid any possible misinterpretation and in order to make my resignation consistent with American interests in the light of the current international situation, I suggest that my resignation become effective with the recess or adjournment of the present Assembly session for the Christmas period, but that my leave of absence from the Assembly commence at once so that I will be immediately free to resume my full Senatorial duties in Washington.

With renewed appreciation and expression of my esteem,

Respectfully yours,

Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
United States Senator

File

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

OCTOBER 22, 1951

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

On September 13, 1951, I nominated ten persons to represent this Nation in the sixth General Assembly of the United Nations which will convene in Paris on November 6 of this year.

A subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations reviewed the qualifications of all ten nominees and held extensive hearings on one of them, Ambassador-at-Large Philip C. Jessup. The subcommittee reported favorably to the full committee on nine of the nominees, but reported unfavorably, by a 3 to 2 vote, on Ambassador Jessup. The full committee took no action on any of the nominees. However, on October 19, 1951, by a motion made on the Senate floor, the committee was discharged from further considering the appointments of nine of the nominees (all except Mr. Jessup), and the Senate gave its advice and consent to their appointment.

This leaves the nomination of Ambassador Jessup still before the Committee on Foreign Relations. Neither the full committee nor the Senate has taken action on it. When the Senate confirmed the other nine nominees, the Chairman of the subcommittee pointed out that there had not been adequate opportunity for the full committee to study the record of the hearings on the qualifications of Ambassador Jessup; consequently, the Senate agreed by unanimous consent that the name of Ambassador Jessup be left "without prejudice" before the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Thus there are now nine members of the United States delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, and one vacancy. Under the Constitution, the President is empowered to fill vacancies in appointive offices during a recess of the Senate.

I regard appointments to the United States delegation to the United Nations General Assembly as among the most important that the President has to make. In the United Nations General Assembly, our representatives must deal, on behalf of the United States, with issues which affect the peace of the world, and the security and happiness of every person in our country.

I am appointing Ambassador Jessup to fill this vacancy because he has demonstrated by actual experience on numerous occasions that he is outstandingly well qualified for this position.

Ambassador Jessup has distinguished himself as a scholar, as a lawyer, and as a public servant. The Senate has confirmed Ambassador Jessup five times for positions of great trust; three confirmations were for the identical position to which I am now appointing him.

He has a remarkable record as a representative of this country in the United Nations. This Nation's chief delegate to the United Nations, former Senator Warren E. Austin, has observed at first-hand the skill and persuasiveness with which Mr. Jessup has dealt with complex problems as an American representative. He has stated emphatically that Ambassador Jessup is needed on the United Nations delegation this fall.

Leading members of the American bar, of which the Ambassador is a member, have given him their unqualified endorsement. Prominent educators from all over the Nation have made known their support. Officials who have worked with him in the service of this Government have attested to his devotion to the interests and the welfare of this Nation.

The reasons for this support can be found in the record of Mr. Jessup's achievements. He played a vital role in the lifting of the Ber-

(OVER)

Last copy filed - PPF 1-F

B-1-10

- 2 -

blockade. He represented the United States with great skill at the meeting of Deputy Foreign Ministers at Paris last spring. In the debates in the Security Council, he has spoken for freedom in ringing tones that have made themselves heard on both sides of the Iron Curtain. His service to this country has been faithful, conscientious and highly effective.

Against this impressive record of achievement and of support, the objections to Mr. Jessup's appointment made during the hearings of the Senate subcommittee seem to me to be erroneous, and in some cases, simply the result of partisan politics.

The record of the hearings shows that charges to the effect that he was sympathetic to communist causes were utterly without foundation, and some of the so-called documentation introduced in support of those charges bordered on fraud. And even two of the three members of the subcommittee who voted against his confirmation went to great pains to make it clear that they had no doubt of his loyalty and integrity.

Then, Ambassador Jessup was attacked for being at a meeting which he did not attend and for policy recommendations which he never made.

Despite his record of public service and despite the patent falseness of the charges made against him, it is alleged that the American people do not have confidence in Ambassador Jessup to do a job at which he has been conspicuously successful three times before. This I find unbelievable. The American people make their judgments on the basis of fact and on the basis of performance.

I find no reason in the record of the hearings to change my high opinion of Mr. Jessup's qualifications for this post. I consider him particularly qualified to serve as a representative of the United States to the General Assembly of the United Nations. Accordingly, I am giving him a recess appointment.

B-1116

He called to cancel - his wife is going
to hospital

85-J

February 27, 1952

June 12
12:00
W. C. Connelly
1952

Dear Doctor Tobias:

I am certainly happy that you enjoyed serving on
the Delegation to the Sixth Assembly of the United
Nations. You made a contribution to that meeting
which was outstanding.

If you will call Mr. Connelly he will set a date for
you to come in and tell me exactly what happened
at that Assembly.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Dr. Channing H. Tobias xPPJ 4882
Director
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

m j c used
him could see
Pres. when
returned to N.Y.



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MRS. JOHN DAVIS HATCH, Jr., Vice-President
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NATHAN PHELPS STOKES, Sr., President Emeritus

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

February 21, 1952

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS

CHANNING H. TOBIAS, Director
FREDERICK L. ROWE, Executive Secretary

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN

Education: EMORY ROSS
Housing: MRS. JOHN DAVIS HATCH, Jr.
TELEPHONE: MUany 918-1400 (New York)

CABLES: "Stokeland" to New York

EUROPEAN ADDRESS

2, Eaton Court, St. James Square, London, S.W.1.

THE WHITE HOUSE

FEB 23 8 44 AM '52

RECEIVED

The Honorable Harry S. Truman
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

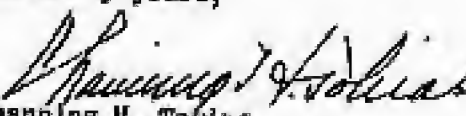
My dear Mr. President:

This is just a line once again to express my sincere appreciation to you for the opportunity of serving our Government as a member of the United States Delegation to the Sixth Assembly of the United Nations.

I would also like to ask that you indicate a time that is convenient for you when I may come in for a few minutes to report on some aspects of the General Assembly from my point of view.

With all good wishes, I am

Cordially yours,


Channing H. Tobias
Director

CNT
RLR

Saw. Pres. March 20
12:00

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON



85-A

March 6, 1946

*Arrival set for 15th but he
had trouble with passage*

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CONNELLY:

Mr. Trygve Lie, ^{xw.c.} Secretary General of the Permanent Organization of the United Nations, is expected in Washington on March 14. Mr. Lie, who has been Norwegian Foreign Minister, will be enroute to New York to assume his new duties as head of UNO. He is coming to Washington to pay his respects to the [#] Secretary of State and, he hopes, to the President.

Could you let me know whether it will be convenient for President Truman to receive Mr. Lie and, if so, upon what date.



fw
Stanley Woodward
Acting Chief of Protocol *x20*

6. Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the Permanent Organization of the United Nations, is expected in Washington on March 14th. Mr. Lie, who has been Norwegian Foreign Minister, will be enroute to New York to assume his new duties as head of UNO. He is coming to Washington to pay his respects to the Secretary of State and, he hopes, the President. Mr. Woodward says that Secretary Byrnes would like to bring Mr. Lie over and suggests the 15th in case his plane might be late on the 14th.

120

15-11-46

85-1

F.
10-23-46

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

September 10, 1946

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Invitation to Address the Opening Session
of the United Nations Assembly in New York

Suppose #
x 85-A Referring to our conversation last Wednesday concerning
Secretary General Lie's invitation to you to address the open-
ing session of the United Nations Assembly in New York, I
have received the following message from Mr. Byrnes:

"If the General Assembly meeting is held
as scheduled I feel it would be fine for the
President to address the opening session."

We expect to know by the end of this week whether the
Assembly will convene in New York on September 23 or on
October 23. The latter date now appears almost certain.

As agreed with you I shall send you in the next few days
some suggestions you might wish to consider for inclusion in
an address on this occasion.

Will Clayton
Acting Secretary

x 20

x Invitation N.Y. Co.

x 200-1-B



85-A

August 10, 1948



Dear Bob:

Thank you for your note of August 9th. I checked our records here and find that Trygve Lie called on the President at 12:00 Noon, March 20th, 1946 and will call on him again tomorrow when the President signs S.J. Res. 212.

Your thoughtfulness in calling this to my attention is appreciated nonetheless.

Sincerely,

(Sgd) Matt

MATTHEW J. CONNELLY
Secretary to the President

Mr. Robert W. Moore
Democratic National Committee
Ring Building
Washington, D. C.

x 299-A

eng

B file

ROBERT M. MOORE

August 9, 1948

Dear Matt:

One of my friends was telling me the other day about a conversation in which it was mentioned that Trygve Lie was somewhat disappointed in that he had never been able to meet President Truman -- he has met the heads of all the other members of the United Nations group, but has never had the pleasure of meeting our own Chief Executive.

Whether that is true or not you can tell -- but if it is I thought you would like to have the information for whatever it is worth.



Bob

*Adm. March 20-48
and will see again
Tomorrow when
Pres. Signs
S.S. Res. 212
bringing into effect from
agreement between
U.S. and U.N.
Washington
ceremony*

*820
12.46
12.00*



B-111e

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum of Points for Consideration in the Development
of a 20-Year Program for achieving Peace through
the United Nations



As Secretary-General, it is my firm belief that a new and great effort must be attempted to end the so-called "cold war" and to set the world once more on a road that will offer greater hope of lasting peace.

The atmosphere of deepening international mistrust can be dissipated and the threat of the universal disaster of another war averted by employing to the full the resources for conciliation and constructive peace-building present in the United Nations Charter. The employment of these resources can secure eventual peace if we accept, believe and act upon the possibility of peaceful co-existence among all the Great Powers and the different economic and political systems they represent, and if the Great Powers evidence a readiness to undertake genuine negotiation -- not in a spirit of appeasement -- but with enlightened self-interest and common sense on all sides.

Measures for collective self-defence and regional remedies of other kinds are at best interim measures, and cannot alone bring any reliable security from the prospect of war. The one common undertaking and universal instrument of the great majority of the human race is the United Nations. A patient, constructive long-term use of its potentialities can bring a real and secure peace to the world. I am certain that such an effort will have the active interest and support of the smaller Member States, who have much to contribute in the conciliation of Big Power differences and in the development of constructive and mutually advantageous political and economic co-operation.

I therefore venture to suggest certain points for consideration in the formulation of a 20-year United Nations Peace Program. Certain of these

-2-

points call for urgent action. Others are of a long-range nature, requiring continued effort over the next 20 years. I shall not discuss the problems of the peace settlements for Austria, Germany and Japan -- because the founders of the United Nations indicated that the peace settlements should be made separately from the United Nations. But I believe that the progress of a United Nations Peace Program such as is here suggested will help to bring these settlements far closer to attainment.



1. Inauguration of periodic meetings of the Security Council, attended by foreign ministers, or heads or other members of governments, as provided by the United Nations Charter and the rules of procedure: together with further development and use of other United Nations machinery for negotiation, mediation and conciliation of international disputes.

The periodic meetings of the Security Council provided for in Article 28 of the Charter have never been held. Such periodic meetings should be held semi-annually, beginning with one in 1950. In my opinion, they should be used for a general review at a high level of outstanding issues in the United Nations, particularly those that divide the Great Powers. They should not be expected to produce great decisions every time; they should be used for consultation -- much of it in private -- for efforts to gain ground toward agreement on questions at issue, to clear up misunderstandings, to prepare for new initiatives that may improve the chances for definitive agreement at later meetings. They should be held away from Headquarters as a general rule, in Geneva, the capitals of the Permanent Members and in other regions of the world.

Further development of the resources of the United Nations for mediation and conciliation should be undertaken, including re-establishment of the

regular practice of private consultations by the representatives of the five Great Powers, and a renewed effort to secure agreement by all the Great Powers on limitations on the use of the veto power in the pacific settlement procedures of the Security Council.

2. A new attempt to make progress toward establishing an international control system for atomic energy that will be effective in preventing its use for war and promoting its use for peaceful purposes.

We cannot hope for any quick or easy solution of this most difficult problem of atomic energy control. The only way to find out what is possible is to resume negotiation in line with the directive of the General Assembly last fall "to explore all possible avenues and examine all concrete suggestions with a view to determining what might lead to an agreement." Various suggestions for finding a basis for a fresh approach have been put forward. One possibility would be for the Security Council to instruct the Secretary-General to call a conference of scientists whose discussions might provide a reservoir of new ideas on the control of weapons of mass destruction and the promotion of peaceful uses of atomic energy that could thereafter be explored in the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. Or, it may be that an interim agreement could be worked out that would at least be some improvement on the present situation of an unlimited atomic arms race, even though it did not afford full security. There are other possibilities for providing the basis for a new start; every possibility should be explored.



-4-

3. A new approach to the problem of bringing the armaments race under control, not only in the field of atomic weapons, but in other weapons of mass destruction and in conventional armaments.

Here is another area where it is necessary to re-activate negotiation and to make new efforts at finding some area of common ground. It must be recognized that up to now there has been virtually a complete failure here and that the immediate prospects seem poor indeed. Clearly disarmament requires an atmosphere of confidence in which political disputes are brought nearer to solution. But it is also true that any progress at all towards agreement on the regulation of armaments of any kind would help to reduce cold war tensions and thus assist in the adjustment of political disputes. Negotiation on this problem should not be deferred until the other great political problems are solved, but should go hand in hand with any effort to reach political settlements.

4. A renewal of serious efforts to reach agreement on the armed forces to be made available under the Charter to the Security Council for the enforcement of its decisions.

A new approach should be made towards resolving existing differences on the size, location and composition of the forces to be pledged to the Security Council under Article 43 of the Charter. Basic political difficulties which may delay a final solution should not be permitted to stand in the way of some sort of an interim accord for a small force sufficient to prevent or stop localized outbreaks threatening international peace. The mere existence of such a force would greatly enhance the ability of the Security Council to bring about peaceful settlements in most of the cases which are likely to come before it.

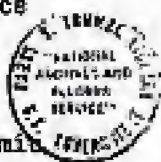


5. Acceptance and application of the principle that it is wise and right to proceed as rapidly as possible toward universality of membership.

Fourteen nations are now awaiting admission to the United Nations. In the interests of the people of these countries and of the United Nations, I believe they should all be admitted, as well as other countries which will attain their independence in the future. It should be made clear that Germany and Japan would also be admitted as soon as the peace treaties have been completed.

6. A sound and active program of technical assistance for economic development and encouragement of broad scale capital investment, using all appropriate private, governmental and inter-governmental resources.

A technical assistance program is in its beginnings, assisted by the strong support of the President of the United States. Its fundamental purpose is to enable the people of the under-developed countries to raise their standard of living peacefully by specific and practicable measures. It should be a continuing and expanding program for the next 20 years and beyond, carried forward with the co-operation of all Member Governments, largely through the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, with mutual beneficial programs planned and executed on a basis of equality rather than on a basis of charity. Through this means the opportunities can be opened up for capital investment on a large and expanding scale. Here lies one of our best hopes for combating the dangers and costs of the cold war.



-6-

7. More vigorous use by all Member Governments of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations to promote, in the words of the Charter, "higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress."

The great potentialities of the Specialized Agencies to participate in a long-range program aimed at drastically reducing the economic and social causes of war, can be realized by more active support from all Governments, including the membership of the Soviet Union in some or all of the Agencies to which it does not now belong. The expansion of world trade which is vital to any long-range effort for world betterment requires the early ratification of the Charter of the International Trade Organization.



8. Vigorous and continued development of the work of the United Nations for wider observance and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world.

It is becoming evident that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948 without a dissenting vote, is destined to become one of the great documents of history. The United Nations is now engaged on a program that will extend over the next 20 years -- and beyond -- to secure the extension and wider observance of the political, economic and social rights there set down. Its success needs the active support of all Governments.

9. Use of the United Nations to promote, by peaceful means instead of by force, the advancement of dependent, colonial or semi-colonial peoples, towards a place of equality in the world.

The great changes which have been taking place since the end of the war among the peoples of Asia and Africa must be kept within peaceful bounds by using the universal framework of the United Nations. The old relationships will have to be replaced with new ones of equality and fraternity. The United Nations is the instrument capable of bringing such a transition to pass without violent upheavals and with the best prospect of bringing long-run economic and political benefits to all nations of the world.

10. Active and systematic use of all the powers of the Charter and all the machinery of the United Nations to speed up the development of international law towards an eventual enforceable world law for a universal world society.



These three last points deal with programs already under way to carry out important principles of the United Nations Charter. They respond to basic human desires and aspirations and co-ordinated efforts by all Governments to further these programs are indispensable to the eventual peaceful stabilization of international relations. There are many specific steps which need to be taken for example, under Point 10, ratification of the Genocide Convention, greater use of the International Court of Justice, and systematic development and codification of international law. More important is that Governments should give high priority in their national policies to the continued support and development of these ideals which are at the foundation of all striving of the peoples for a better world.

-8-

What is here suggested is only an outline of preliminary proposals for a program; much more development will be needed. It is self-evident that every step mentioned, every proposal made, will require careful and detailed, even laborious preparation, negotiation and administration. It is equally self-evident that the necessary measure of agreement will be hard to realize most of the time, and even impossible some of the time. Yet the world can never accept the thesis of despair-- the thesis of irrevocable and irreconcilable conflict.

20 April 1950.

We have had a good talk about various United Nations matters.

I had not seen President Truman since he delivered the Cornerstone Address at the United Nations Permanent Headquarters in New York last October 24th.

You know that the opening of the San Francisco Conference five years ago next Tuesday was the first great step taken in President Truman's administration. He also opened the first United Nations General Assembly held in the United States in 1946. He has been a strong champion of the United Nations as the center of man's hope for peace on more than one occasion. The United Nations needs his support and that of the American people more than ever now.

I wanted to talk with him again before I left for Europe on Saturday.

That is all I can say.



Mr. L. Sec U.N.

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

JANUARY 9, 1953

EXECUTIVE ORDER

#10422

WHEREAS PROCEEDINGS ARE MAKING AVAILABLE TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS CERTAIN INFORMATION CONCERNING UNITED STATES CITIZENS EMPLOYED OR BEING CONSIDERED FOR EMPLOYMENT ON THE SECRETARIAT OF THE UNITED NATIONS

WHEREAS the United States has ratified the Charter of the United Nations and is participating in the activities of the United Nations by virtue of the ratification of the said Charter (59 Stat. 1011), and of the authority granted by the United Nations Partition Plan Act of 1947 (59 Stat. 629); and

WHEREAS a Commission of Jurists has advised the Secretary General of the United Nations that he should report it as of the first importance to refrain from employing or to refrain from employment on the Secretariat of the United Nations any United States citizen who has been, is, or is likely to be, engaged in espionage or subversive activities against the United States; and

WHEREAS the Commission of Jurists has also advised that the United States should make available to the Secretary General information on which the Secretary General can make his determination as to whether reasonable grounds exist for believing that a United States citizen employed or being considered for employment on the Secretariat has been, is, or is likely to be, engaged in espionage or subversive activities against the United States; and

WHEREAS the Commission of Jurists has further advised that the independence of the Secretary General and his sole responsibility to the General Assembly of the United Nations for the selection and rejection of staff should be recognized by all Member Nations; and

WHEREAS the Secretary General has declared his intention to use the conclusions and recommendations of the opinion of the said Commission of Jurists on the basis of his personnel policy in discharging the responsibilities entrusted to him by the Charter and staff regulations of the United Nations; and

WHEREAS in the participation by the United States in the activities of the United Nations it is in the interest of the United States that United States citizens who are employees of the Secretariat of the United Nations be persons of the highest integrity and not persons who have been, are, or are likely to be, engaged in espionage or subversive activities against the United States; and

WHEREAS it is in the interest of the United States to establish a procedure for the acquisition of information by investigation and for its transmission to the Secretary General in order to assist the Secretary General in the exercise of his responsibility for determining whether any United States citizen employed or being considered for employment on the Secretariat has been, is, or is likely to be, engaged in espionage or subversive activities against the United States; and

WHEREAS such procedure should afford opportunity for hearing to any United States citizen employed or being considered for employment on the Secretariat as to whom an investigation discloses derogatory information, so that the persons affected may challenge the accuracy of any such information;

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution, statutes, and treaties of the United States, including the

Charter of the United Nations, and as President of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

**PART I - INVESTIGATION OF UNITED STATES CITIZENS EMPLOYED OR
BEING CONSIDERED FOR EMPLOYMENT ON THE SECRETARIAT
OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

1. Upon the receipt by the Secretary of State from the Secretary General of the United Nations of the name of and other necessary identifying data concerning each United States citizen employed or being considered for employment by the United Nations, there shall be an investigation of such person in accordance with the standard set forth in Part II of this order.

2. The Secretary of State shall forward the information received from the Secretary General of the United Nations to the United States Civil Service Commission, and the Commission shall conduct a preliminary investigation.

3. The preliminary investigation conducted by the Civil Service Commission of any such person shall be made at all available pertinent sources of information and shall include reference to:

- (a) Federal Bureau of Investigation files.
- (b) Civil Service Commission files.
- (c) Military and naval intelligence files as appropriate.
- (d) The files of any other appropriate Government investigative or intelligence agency.
- (e) The files of appropriate committees of the Congress.
- (f) Local law-enforcement files at the place of residence and employment of the person, including municipal, county, and State law-enforcement files.
- (g) Schools and colleges attended by the person.
- (h) Former employers of the person.
- (i) References given by the person.
- (j) Any other appropriate source.

4. Whenever information revealed with respect to any such person is derogatory, within the standard set forth in Part II of this order, the United States Civil Service Commission shall forward the information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the Bureau shall conduct a full field investigation of such person: Provided, that in all cases involving a United States citizen employed or being considered for employment on the internationally recruited staff of the United Nations, the investigation required by this Part shall be a full field investigation conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

5. Reports of full field investigations shall be forwarded through the United States Civil Service Commission to the appropriate Regional Loyalty Board of the Civil Service Commission. Whenever such a report contains derogatory information, under the standard set forth in Part II of this order, there shall be made available to the person in question the procedures of the Civil Service Regional Loyalty Board (including the opportunity of a hearing) and the right of appeal to the Commission's Loyalty Review Board, in like manner as provided for with respect to employment with the executive branch of the Government of the United States under Executive Order No. 9835 of March 21, 1947, as amended. The Regional Loyalty Board, or the Loyalty Review Board on appeal, shall transmit its determinations, together with the reasons therefor stated in such detail as security considerations permit, to the Secretary of

State for transmission to the Secretary General of the United Nations for his use in exercising the responsibility with respect to the integrity of the personnel employed by the United Nations imposed upon him by the Charter of the United Nations and the regulations established by the General Assembly, and in light of the Report of the Commission of Jurists.

6. At any stage during the investigation or loyalty board proceeding the Secretary of State may forward to the Secretary General, in as much detail as the investigative and loyalty review agencies determine that security considerations will permit, the derogatory information disclosed by investigation. This shall be for the purpose of permitting the Secretary General to determine whether or not he should take interim action with respect to the employee prior to the completion of the procedures outlined in this order. The making available of any such information shall be without prejudice to the right of full hearing and appeal as provided for herein.

7. The Secretary of State shall notify the Secretary General in all cases in which no derogatory information has been developed.

PART II - STANDARD

1. The standard to be used by a Regional Loyalty Board or by the Loyalty Review Board on appeal, in making an advisory determination as provided for in paragraph 1 of Part I of this order with respect to a United States citizen who is an employee or is being considered for employment by the United Nations, shall be whether or not on all the evidence there is a reasonable doubt as to the loyalty of the person involved to the Government of the United States.

2. Activities and associations of a United States citizen who is an employee or being considered for employment by the United Nations which may be considered in connection with the determination whether or not on all the evidence there is a reasonable doubt as to the loyalty of the person involved in the Government of the United States may include one or more of the following:

- (a) Sabotage, espionage, or attempts or preparations therefor, or knowingly associating with spies or saboteurs.
- (b) Treason or sedition or advocacy thereof.
- (c) Advocacy of revolution or force or violence to alter the constitutional form of government of the United States.
- (d) Intentional, unauthorized disclosure to any person, under circumstances which may indicate disloyalty to the United States, of United States documents or United States information of a confidential or non-public character obtained by the person making the disclosure as a result of his previous employment by the Government of the United States or otherwise.
- (e) Performing or attempting to perform his duties, or otherwise acting, while an employee of the United States Government during a previous period, so as to serve the interests of another government in preference to the interests of the United States.
- (f) Membership in, or affiliation or sympathetic association with, any foreign or domestic organization, association, movement, or group or combination of persons, designated by the Attorney General as totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive, or as having adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or as seeking to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means.

PART III - OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The provisions of Parts I and II of this order shall be applicable to United States citizens who are employees of, or are being considered for employment by, other public international

- 4 -

organizations of which the United States Government is a member, by arrangement between the executive head of the international organization concerned and the Secretary of State or other officer of the United States designated by the President.



HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE,

January 9, 1953.

85-A

7955

JAN 19 1953

January 17, 1953

My dear Miss Perkins:

In response to the inquiry of Mr. L. V. Meley as to the scope of the preliminary investigations to be conducted by the Commission under Part I, section 3, of Executive Order 10422 entitled "Prescribing Procedures for Making Available to the Secretary General of the United Nations Certain Information concerning United States Citizens Employed or Being considered for Employment on the Secretariat of the United Nations", I wish to inform the Commission that it is my view that such preliminary investigations should be similar in scope to those conducted under Public Law 298, 82nd Congress, commonly known as background investigations.

Sincerely yours,



(Sgd) HARRY S. TRUMAN

Honorable Frances Perkins, X2
United States Civil Service Commission,
Washington, D. C.

X252-X

copy to Mr. Murphy
B 1/7 E 11

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.ADDRESSEE ONLY
"U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION"
IN YOUR MAIL LETTER TO
FILE CL:LVM:vzd
AND DATE OF THIS LETTER

January 16, 1953

F
Mr. Charles Murphy
Special Counsel to The President
The White House
L

Dear Mr. Murphy:

Attached hereto is the draft of a letter from the President to the Commission setting forth the scope of the preliminary investigations to be conducted by the Commission under Executive Order 10422.

I am also attaching a copy of Public Law 298 of the 82nd Congress which transferred the background investigations previously conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigations for certain agencies to the U. S. Civil Service Commission. Pursuant to the consensus of opinion at the conference in your office last night, this is the type of investigation we were speaking of --- those conducted under Public Law 298.

x10-B

Sincerely yours,

*L. V. Meloy*
L. V. Meloy
Chief Law Officer

Enclosure 8665

B L E

Public Law 298 - 82d Congress
 Chapter 159 - 2d Session
 S. 2077

AN ACT

To provide for certain investigations by the Civil Service Commission in lieu of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That sections 10 (b) (5) (B) (i) and (B) (ii) of the Act of August 1, 1946 (60 Stat. 755), entitled "An Act for the development and control of atomic energy"; section 1 (2) of the Act of May 22, 1947 (61 Stat. 103), entitled "An Act to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey"; section 1 of the joint resolution of May 31, 1947 (61 Stat. 125), entitled "Joint resolution providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war"; section 3 (e) of the Act of August 5, 1947 (61 Stat. 780), entitled "An Act to provide for the reincorporation to The Institute of Inter-American Affairs, and for other purposes"; section 1001 of the Act of January 27, 1948 (62 Stat. 6), entitled "An Act to promote the better understanding of the United States among the peoples of the world and to strengthen cooperative international relations"; section 110 (c) of the Act of April 3, 1948 (62 Stat. 137), entitled "An Act to promote world peace and the general welfare, national interest, and foreign policy of the United States through economic, financial, and other measures necessary to the maintenance of conditions abroad in which free institutions may survive and consistent with the maintenance of the strength and stability of the United States"; section 2 of the Act of June 14, 1948 (62 Stat. 441), entitled "Joint resolution providing for membership and participation by the United States in the World Health Organization and authorizing an appropriation therefor"; section 3 of the Act of June 30, 1948 (62 Stat. 1151), entitled "Joint resolution providing for acceptance by the United States of America of the Constitution of the International Labor Organization Instrument of Amendment, and further authorizing an appropriation for payment of the United States share of the expenses of membership and for expenses of participation by the United States"; subsection (c) of section 15 of the Act of May 10, 1950 (64 Stat. 149), entitled "An Act to promote the progress of science; to advance the national health, prosperity, and welfare; to secure the national defense; and for other purposes"; section 3 (e) of the Act of August 11, 1950 (64 Stat. 438), entitled "An Act to authorize the District of Columbia government to establish an Office of Civil Defense, and for other purposes"; and section 510 of the Mutual Security Act of 1951, as amended by striking therefrom, wherever they appear, the words "Federal Bureau of Investigation" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "Civil Service Commission": *Provided*, That in the event an investigation made pursuant to any of the above statutes as herein amended develops any data reflecting that the individual who is the subject of the investigation is of questionable loyalty, the Civil Service Commission shall refer the matter to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for the conduct of a full field investigation, the results of which shall be furnished to the Civil Service Commission for its information and appropriate action: *Provided further*, That, if the President deems it to be in the national interest, he may from time to time cause investigations of any group or class which are required by any of the above statutes, to be made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation rather than the Civil Service Commission: *Provided further*, That notwithstanding the provisions of section 10 (b) (5) (B) (i) and (ii) of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 and section 510 of the Mutual Security Act of 1951, as amended by this Act, a majority of the members of the Atomic Energy Commission, the Director of Mutual Security, or the*

Investigations of personnel. Civil Service Commission. 42 U.S.C. § 1810. 22 U.S.C. § 1401. 22 U.S.C. § 1411. 22 U.S.C. § 261b. 22 U.S.C. § 1434. 22 U.S.C. § 1508. 22 U.S.C. § 290a. 66 Stat. 43. 66 Stat. 44. 22 U.S.C. § 272b. 42 U.S.C. § 1874. 65 Stat. 381. 22 U.S.C. § 1661. Investigations by FBI. 60 Stat. 755; 65 Stat. 381. 42 U.S.C. § 1810; 22 U.S.C. § 1661.



Secretary of State, as the case may be, shall certify those specific positions which are of a high degree of importance or sensitivity, and upon such certification the investigation and reports required by such provisions or by any other laws amended by the first section of this Act shall, in the case of such positions, be made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation rather than the Civil Service Commission.

Completion
of transfer.

SEC. 2. The transfer of investigative functions hereinbefore provided for shall be effectuated during the period commencing with the date of the approval of this Act and terminating one hundred and eighty days thereafter, it being the intent of the Congress that the said transfer be effectuated as expeditiously within that period of time as the Civil Service Commission shall consider the facilities of that Commission adequate to undertake all or any part of the functions herein transferred: *Provided, however,* That investigations pending with the Federal Bureau of Investigation at the expiration of the one hundred and eighty days shall be completed in due course by that Bureau and reports thereof furnished to the Civil Service Commission for its information and appropriate action.

Subversive
acts.

SEC. 3. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to affect in any way the responsibility of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for investigations of espionage, sabotage, or subversive acts.

Availability
of appropriations.

SEC. 4. In order to carry out the provisions and purposes of this Act, appropriations available to the departments or agencies, on whose account investigations are made pursuant to the statutes amended by section 1 of this Act, shall be available for advances or reimbursements directly to the applicable appropriations of the Civil Service Commission, or of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, for the cost of investigations made for such departments or agencies.

Approved April 5, 1952.

DRAFT

DRAFT

*Miss Perkins**(of Mr. L. V. McCloy)*

My dear Commissioners:

In response to ^{the} your inquiry as to the scope of the preliminary investigations to be conducted by the Commission under Part I, section 3, of Executive Order 10422 entitled "Prescribing Procedures for Making Available to the Secretary General of the United Nations Certain Information Concerning United States Citizens Employed or Being Considered for Employment on the Secretariat of the United Nations", ^{rather} it is my opinion that such preliminary investigations should be ⁱⁿ similar scope ^(to) as those conducted under Public Law 298, 82nd Congress, commonly known as background investigations.

*I wish to
inform the
Commission
that*

*Sincerely yours,**Hon. Francis Perkins**U. S. Steel Corporation*

B

112

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

APRIL 14, 1945

The President yesterday directed Ambassador Harriman, who has been conferring with Marshal Stalin on plans for the San Francisco Conference, to assure the Marshal that the coming of Foreign Secretary Molotov to the conference at San Francisco would be welcomed as an expression of earnest cooperation in carrying forward plans for formulating the new international organization as laid down by President Roosevelt and confirmed by the Yalta Conference. The President stated he would look forward with pleasure to a visit by Mr. Molotov to Washington.

Today the President was advised by Marshal Stalin that Foreign Secretary Molotov would attend the San Francisco Conference.



THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 19, 1945

File

85-13

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LEONARD NEINICH

I return to you herewith for your
files the original of the note I handed
you this morning and which later
President Truman approved to me verbally
on the subject of Polish representation
at San Francisco. ~~44~~ 463

The statement was issued by the
State Department at approximately 1:00
p.m. today.



120

66.6
1945

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 19, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Polish Representation at San Francisco

+220
The press have questioned the Department whether a further note has been received from the Soviet Government along the lines of the Soviet broadcast demanding that the Lublin Government be represented at the San Francisco Conference.

On March 31, 1945 the press were informed for attribution to the Department of State that the United States Government does not agree to the extension of an invitation to the present Provisional Government now functioning in Warsaw. The Soviet Government had already been informed of our position in this matter by a memorandum dated March 29.

If I have your approval, I propose to make the following statement to the press as an official statement from the Department of State:

The note which has been received from the Soviet Government reiterates the Soviet request that the present Provisional Government now functioning in Warsaw be invited to send representatives to the Conference at San Francisco. Poland is a member of the United Nations and of right should be at San Francisco. ^{However,} The view of the United States Government remains that an invitation to the Conference at San Francisco should be extended only to the new Provisional Government of National Unity formed in accordance with the Crimea Agreement.



April 22, 1945

85-13

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LATTHEL CONNELLY

Slapdash

Dr. Wise has asked for a representative of the American Zionist Council to be represented at the San Francisco Conference. I have drafted a letter explaining why the Palestine question would not come up and stated that for that reason there would be no purpose in having a representative there.

Would you please advise whether this conflicts with anything that took place in the conversation between the President and Dr. Wise when they saw each other a day or two ago. I will not release my letter until I hear from you.

You are earnest Ed
+ I appreciate
Henry Hanna



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SECRETARY

April 25, 1945

Miss Barrows:

This is the memorandum
to Mr. Connolly about which
I have just spoken to you over
the telephone.

I would appreciate it very
much if you could let me
have an early answer, as we are
most anxious to get the letter
off to Dr. Wiso. Thank you very
much.



E. Ball
Edith Ball



DUPLICATE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 22, 1945

85-B

0

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MATTHEW CONNELLY

Stephen

Dr. Wise has asked for a representative of the American Zionist Council to be represented at the San Francisco Conference. I have drafted a letter explaining why the Palestine question would not come up and stated that for that reason there would be no purpose in having a representative there.

Would you please advise whether this conflicts with anything that took place in the conversation between the President and Dr. Wise when they saw each other a day or two ago. I will not release my letter until I hear from you.



(s) E. R. STEFFINUS, JR. X 20

R. B. Tuck. Miss
Baer O.K. to
release Steffinus's
letter to Wise
4-26-45

~~SECRET~~

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

April 19, 1945

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(2) and 3(3) or (C)

Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1961

Presidential Records Date 6/26/75

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Charter for the International Organization.

The American Delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization is unanimously agreed that we should propose a few alterations in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals during the San Francisco Conference. We will reserve our final positions on all of these, of course, until we learn the views of other governments. I am listing below for your information the most important points involved:

PURPOSES

1. Inclusion of a statement that the organization should act in accordance with the principles of justice and equity in adjusting or settling disputes, and that the organization should foster the development of international law.

2. Inclusion of a statement on the promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms (in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals this is stated in the chapter on economic and social cooperation only).

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, Sec. 2(D) and 3(D) or (E)

Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1972

by WAT/llc, RAMP Date 6-26-78

~~SECRET~~

PRINCIPLES

1. Change the expression "sovereign equality of peace-loving states" to "the sovereign equality of all member states".

2. Make clearer that members must refrain from using any but peaceful means in settling their disputes and must use such means pursuant to the provisions of the Charter.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

1. Clarify to show that the General Assembly can at all times discuss any question bearing on the maintenance of peace and security, and that the limitation on its power to make recommendations concerning matters which are being dealt with by the Security Council should be confined to specific recommendations.

2. Give the General Assembly power to determine the qualifications of membership, and to admit new members by its own action unless the Security Council interposes objections for reasons of security:

3. Apportionment by the General Assembly of expenses among the members should be on the basis of an appropriate pro-rata.

4. Add to recommendatory powers, so can make recommendations relative to the promotion of measures to establish justice, to foster the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and to encourage the development of rules of international law.

5. Extend power to recommend measures for peaceful adjustment to include situations likely

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(2) and 3(3) re (S)

Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1972

by 11/17/88 NAME DocId: 34 73~~SECRET~~

- 3 -

to violate the principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter and situations arising out of any treaties or international engagements.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

1. Eliminate provision that regional sub-committees of the Military Staff Committee can be established.

MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND SECURITY

1. Propose that the exclusion from the scope of the Security Council in peaceful settlement of matters within the domestic jurisdiction of a state should be stated without the present qualification that those matters must be ones which "by international law" are "solely" within domestic jurisdiction.

AGREEMENTS

We should hold to the present proposals, but serious consideration is being given to proposing or supporting a possible additional provision to the following effect:

"A general conference of the members of the United Nations may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly with the concurrence of the Security Council, for the purpose of reviewing the Charter. Each member shall have one vote in the Conference. Any alterations of the Charter recommended by a two-thirds vote of the Conference shall take effect when ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by the members of the organization having permanent membership on the Security Council and by a majority of the other

~~SECRET~~

- 4 -

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, Sec. 302 and 303 or 10

Dept. of State Instr. Aug. 18, 1978

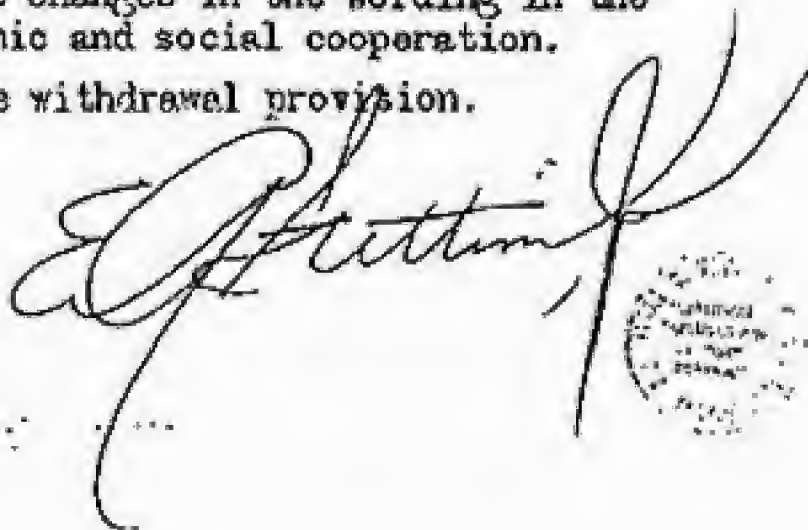
Excluded from GDS Date 6-26-23

members of the Organization".

QUESTIONS DEFERRED

We have been considering, but have deferred, making decisions on the following questions:

1. Wording of the Preamble.
2. Defining the right of self-defense.
3. Possible changes in the wording in the chapter on economic and social cooperation.
4. Possible withdrawal provision.



A large, stylized handwritten signature, likely of E. A. Tamm, is written over the list of questions. To the right of the signature is a circular official stamp, partially obscured, which appears to contain the text "U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE" and "WASHINGTON, D.C."

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 11652, Dec. 30, 1964 and 5010 or 10
Dept. of State Inter. Aff. No. 1973
By 6-35-71

~~TOP SECRET~~

MINUTES OF MEETING BETWEEN MR. STETTINIUS, MR. EDEN, DR.
SOONG AND MR. MOLOTOV RELATIVE TO PROCEDURAL MATTERS
CONNECTED WITH THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

Department of State, April 23, 1945,
9:35 p.m. to 11:15 p.m.

Principal Participants:

Mr. Stettinius
Mr. Eden
Dr. Soong
Mr. Molotov
Sir Alexander Cadogan
Mr. Dunn
Mr. Gromyko
Mr. Hiss



Mr. Stettinius stated that there were some questions regarding San Francisco which he felt should be discussed with Dr. Soong who had postponed his flight to San Francisco in order to be here.

Mr. Molotov stated that he had one question, which involved the Crimean decisions, which he desired to discuss before Dr. Soong joined the group. He then referred to the question of the admission of the Ukrainian and White Russian Republics as initial members of the world organization.

Mr. Stettinius replied that the United States' position had recently been made clear to Ambassador Gromyko. He then asserted that the United States would vote in favor of the inclusion of these two Republics in the world organization but that this is a matter which the Conference itself would have to decide.

Mr. Molotov stated that since the Crimean Conference there had taken place a conference of Inter-American countries as well as a conference of the British Dominions. He then remarked that since the British and American Governments at these two conferences had undoubtedly discussed the Crimean decision regarding these two Republics and that since they had undoubtedly indicated their desire to vote in favor of the inclusion of the Republics in the world organization, he was sure that the Crimean decision on this question would be carried out not just in form but in substance. He added that he felt sure of this since if this was not the case, he was certain that the Soviet Government would have received information from the British and American Governments as to any doubts regarding this matter.

Mr. Stettinius replied that the United States Government would carry out the commitment made by President Roosevelt at the Crimea to support this proposal and vote for it at the Conference.

Mr.

Mr. Molotov asked whether the United States and British Governments were aware of the opinions held by Latin American countries and the Dominions in regard to this matter. He added that he understood that certain of the Dominions supported this question but was certain that Mr. Eden had full information on this subject.

Mr. Eden replied that Great Britain would carry out its pledged word to vote in favor of the inclusion of the Republics but added that he could not answer for the Dominions or the Conference itself.

Mr. Molotov remarked that he was bound to say that from a moral point of view he felt that the countries who had made this decision at the Crimea should exert every effort to see that other countries voted favorably for this proposal.

Mr. Eden asked Mr. Stettinius if he could control Latin American votes.

Mr. Stettinius replied in the negative.

Mr. Eden added that he could not control the Dominion votes.

Mr. Molotov stated that he could control no votes either.

Mr. Eden replied that it was therefore clear that all three countries were in the same position.

Mr. Stettinius stated that he had been instructed by the President to carry out the pledge made by President Roosevelt in regard to this question.

Mr. Eden added that the British Government would do likewise and it so informed the Dominion governments.

Mr. Molotov stated that if we cannot clarify this question further he wished to ask another; namely, do the United States and Great Britain agree that the Ukrainian and White Russian Republics should take part in the Conference if the Conference agrees?

Mr. Stettinius reminded Mr. Molotov that at the Crimea the only pledge taken was that we would vote in favor of making those two Republics initial members of the Assembly and that at Yalta the question of these Republics taking part in the Conference was not raised.

Mr. Molotov replied that since it was agreed that the Republics should be initial members of the Assembly, that meant that as initial members they would also take part in the Conference.

Mr. Stettinius replied that this was not our understanding since this is a Conference of United Nations to set up a world organization, and that we have only under-

taken

taken to vote in favor of making these two Republics initial members of the Assembly when the organization is set up.

Mr. Molotov stated that he agreed but expected that the United States and Great Britain will see that these Republics are made initial members of the organization.

Mr. Stettinius replied in the negative, stating that this was a matter for the Conference to decide.

Mr. Molotov stated that the Soviet Government would form its own judgment as to how well we can carry out joint agreements by the success that is achieved in electing these two Republics as initial members of the world organization.

Mr. Eden replied that the favorable votes of Great Britain and the United States were assured but that he could not speak for the other forty-four countries.

Mr. Molotov stated that this was all he had to say in regard to this question.

(Dr. Soong joined the group for further discussions.).

Mr. Stettinius declared the first meeting of the four Foreign Ministers to be open and suggested that they discuss procedural matters regarding the San Francisco Conference. He then stated that Mr. Alger Hiss, the temporary Secretary General of the Conference, would point out the procedural questions which remained unsettled.

Mr. Hiss pointed out that there were still a few problems which the British, Chinese and Soviet Ambassadors and the Secretary of State had not yet been able to settle. He then stated that the first question involved the organization of the commissions and committees of the Conference.

Mr. Molotov replied that he felt the first question to be discussed was that of the chairmanship of the Conference. He then asked whether it had been decided to apply the principle of equality between the four sponsoring powers. He then remarked that it was his hope that since the question of equality had been held to in regard to the invitations to the Conference, he felt that the same principle should apply to the proceedings of the Conference. He then stated that the Soviet Government claimed no special privileges and he was sure that none of the other sponsoring powers desired any special privileges. He then suggested that the chiefs of the delegations of the four sponsoring powers be elected chairman to act in rotation, and added that he felt it would also be advisable to elect four vice-chairmen from other countries and thus set the tone of the Conference on a basis of equality.

Mr. Stettinius replied that as far as the United States Government is concerned we did not desire any special privileges but that the question of the chairmanship had been given most careful consideration and it was felt that it

would

would be necessary to fix responsibility and thus avoid confusion by electing one officer to preside over the Conference. He remarked that it would undoubtedly cause difficulties if the principle of rotating chairmanship should be adopted; confusion might arise when one chairman succeeded another. He remarked that this entire question had been reviewed in detail by both President Roosevelt and President Truman, and that they both agreed that it was desirable to have one presiding officer who would have full authority.

Mr. Molotov stated that he had explained the position of the Soviet Government.

Mr. Egan remarked that it was really a matter of procedure and a question of efficiency. He reminded Mr. Molotov that at the Moscow Conference, which had been a very great success, Mr. Molotov as host had been elected chairman of the Conference, and therefore he felt that the same principle should apply in this case and that the Foreign Minister of the country in which the Conference was held should be elected chairman.

Mr. Molotov replied that at the Moscow Conference he had suggested that there be three chairmen, and although this proposal had not been accepted he felt that in order to preserve the question of equality four chairmen should be elected to preside over the San Francisco Conference.

Dr. Goong stated that he believed it was a question of efficiency and for this reason he felt that one chairman should be elected. He added that as regards the question of equality anyone may be elected chairman, but he felt that whoever is elected should remain chairman throughout the entire Conference.

Mr. Stettinius stated that Mr. Riss had studied this question carefully and perhaps he could clarify certain points regarding this matter.

Mr. Riss replied that there was little he could add to what had already been stated but that he could review what Mr. Gromyko and the others had said in regard to this, when it was discussed a short time ago.

Mr. Molotov stated that he was familiar with these discussions.

Mr. Stettinius asked whether it was believed advisable to throw this question into the whole Conference.

Mr. Molotov asked why it should not be decided by the Conference as a whole.

Mr. Stettinius replied that he had no objection to this but it would involve discussion with at least the forty-six delegates on the Steering Committee.

Mr.

Mr. Molotov replied that he felt that this was a very important question and that therefore he felt that the other governments should have an opportunity to decide the matter. He then thanked Mr. Stettinius for all the work he had done in arranging for the Conference and assured him that whoever was elected chairman would receive the full support of the Soviet delegation.

Mr. Stettinius thanked Mr. Molotov for his comments on the arrangements which had already been made and stated again that his Government had given careful consideration to this entire question and felt that in point of view of efficiency only one chairman should be elected.

Mr. Molotov replied that he had no doubts as to the efficiency of four chairmen and felt that in order to preserve the question of equality four chairmen should be elected.

Mr. Stettinius asserted that as far as the United States Government was concerned, it made no difference who was elected chairman but it felt that one person should preside during the entire Conference.

Mr. Molotov asked permission of the other Foreign Ministers to maintain the position of the Soviet Government he had already expressed.

Mr. Stettinius agreed.

Mr. Molotov stated that he would like to see the Conference conducted by the four sponsoring governments on a friendly basis and on a basis of equality.

Mr. Stettinius asked whether Mr. Molotov desired that the chairman change every day or every week, or what he had in mind in regard to this question.

Mr. Molotov replied that this was a very simple question which could be worked out easily.

Mr. Eden stated that the Conference would be called upon to vote on this question.

Mr. Stettinius asked Dr. Boeng whether there was anything else to do on this matter except to put it up for decision to the Steering Committee.

(It was agreed that this procedure should be followed.).

Mr. Hiss then brought up the question of the structure of the Conference itself as regards the commissions and the committees.

Mr. Molotov asked why it would not be possible to reach agreement in regard to the Steering Committee and the Executive Committee, and asked who would be on the Steering Committee and who would be on the Executive Committee.

Mr.

Mr. Stettinius stated that the Steering Committee would be devoted to the forty-six chairmen of the delegations, and added that in regard to the Executive Committee Mr. Riss had suggested that it be composed of eleven members.

Mr. Molotov agreed to the proposal regarding the Steering Committee but asked whether representatives of the Ukrainian and White Russian Republics would be on the Steering Committee if they were admitted to the Conference.

Mr. Stettinius replied that if any country is admitted to the Conference, of course the chairman of its delegation would be on the Steering Committee.

Mr. Riss stated that when the Ambassadors and the Secretary had discussed the question of the Executive Committee they had generally agreed that there should be eleven members: the five permanent members of the Council, that is, the four sponsoring powers and France, and that in addition the United States representatives had suggested that Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Iran, the Netherlands and Mexico be represented on the Executive Committee. He added that there had been another suggestion made by the British and one by the Soviet Government, and therefore he felt that it might be advisable at this moment for each of the Foreign Ministers to express his ideas on this subject.

Mr. Molotov then suggested that Yugoslavia be substituted for Holland on the Committee since the government of Holland was now in the process of being reorganized while the Yugoslav government has already been reorganized and the Yugoslav people, who have contributed so much to the war, deserve a place on this Committee.

Mr. Stettinius stated that this matter had been discussed at the last meeting with the three Ambassadors.

Mr. Gromyko stated that he had put up the question of substituting Yugoslavia for Holland but that so far he had not received an answer from the other representatives.

Mr. Eden stated that it was his understanding that the American proposal as to the composition of the Executive Committee had been based upon the desirability of having various geographical units represented on the Committee, and that since Holland was a small Western European power and Czechoslovakia was a small Central European power he did not feel that you could leave Holland off. He added that if the Soviet Government felt that Yugoslavia was a better representative than Czechoslovakia, he had no objection to substituting Yugoslavia for Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Molotov stated that it would be unjust to exclude Czechoslovakia since the Red Armies as well as the Armies of Great Britain and the United States were at this moment in the process of liberating that country.

Mr.

Mr. Eden reminded Mr. Molotov that the British Army was in the process of liberating Holland, and then asked whether there was any fixed magic in the number 11.

Mr. Molotov remarked that he felt 11 was a good number.

Mr. Eden stated that, as Mr. Stettinius knew, Australia had asked whether it might not be possible for it to be represented on the Executive Committee since there were no countries representing the Southwest Pacific area. He added that he felt full consideration should be given to this since Australia had played a very prominent part in the war, and asked whether it was necessary to limit the membership of the Committee to eleven.

Mr. Stettinius replied that as far as he was concerned there was no magic in the number 11, and he felt that the Australian request should be given careful consideration.

Mr. Molotov asked whether it had been agreed that Yugoslavia should be on the Committee.

Mr. Stettinius replied in the negative and pointed out that to have both Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia on the Committee would throw off the geographical balance which had been used in selecting members of the Committee.

Mr. Molotov remarked that the Balkan countries were not represented on the Committee.

Mr. Eden asked whether it would be agreeable to include both Yugoslavia and Australia on the Committee as well as the four chairmen of the commissions of the Conference.

Mr. Stettinius asked whether there was any objection to that suggestion and pointed out that the chairmen of the commissions would in all probability be South Africa, Belgium, Norway and either Chile or Venezuela.

Mr. Molotov stated that if the Committee was enlarged to seventeen it would be composed of almost half the countries represented at the Conference.

Mr. Stettinius stated that seventeen was a good deal less than half of the number of countries represented at the Conference.

Mr. Eden pointed out that if the four chairmen of the commissions were placed on the Executive Committee they were not to act for their countries but act as representatives of the commissions.

Mr. Stettinius again asked whether it was agreeable to have an Executive Committee of seventeen as suggested.

Mr.

Mr. Eden agreed.

Mr. Molotov then suggested that we should limit the number to twelve.

Mr. Eden suggested fourteen since thirteen would be an unlucky number.

Mr. Molotov asked who would be the additional members.

Mr. Stettinius suggested Yugoslavia, Australia and Chile.

Mr. Molotov agreed.

Mr. Eias then brought up the question of the four commissions and four committees.

Mr. Molotov stated that he agreed to the proposals on this point but added that he hoped that the organizers of the Conference had borne in mind that places should be held on the committees for the Ukrainian and White Russian Republics. He was certain that all three governments including China desired to have the Ukrainian and White Russian Republics admitted to the Conference, and that once admitted they would have appropriate seats on the commissions and committees.

Mr. Eden stated that of course such would be the case and pointed out that with the enlargement of the Executive Committee there would be vacant seats on some of the commissions and committees.

Mr. Molotov again stated that he wished to press this question and hoped that China would agree with the British, American and Soviet Governments that these two Republics should be elected to the Conference.

Mr. Stettinius reminded Mr. Molotov that this depended on whether the Conference elected to admit these two Republics.

Mr. Eden remarked that we all are agreed that anyone who is elected to attend the Conference would have to work.

Mr. Molotov remarked that he would not forget this.

Mr. Stettinius assured Mr. Molotov that if the Conference elects to have the White Russian and Ukrainian Republics placed at the Conference, he will see to it that they get places on appropriate committees.

Mr. Eias then brought up the question of official languages.

Mr. Stettinius moved that Chinese, French, English, Russian and Spanish be accepted as the official languages.

Mr.

Mr. Hiss remarked that it was the feeling of the American delegation that it would be most practicable to have English as the working language but of course the others would also be the official languages, and stated that all statements would be translated into English and not into the other languages unless a special request was received to make such translation. He added that as regards documents, arrangements have been made so that any document may be translated into any language but the Secretariat hoped that this request would be used sparingly because of the time element involved in making such translations.

Mr. Molotov stated that in order to aid the Russian delegation in its work he desired that all documents be translated into Russian since Russian was one of the official languages.

Mr. Hiss pointed out that it had so far proved impossible to find a printing establishment in San Francisco that could handle the Cyrillic alphabet but that arrangements had been made so that documents in Russian could be mimeographed.

Mr. Molotov stated that he did not care whether it was printed or mimeographed so long as it was translated into Russian, and added that he was sure that American facilities would ensure that a good job was done.

Mr. Hiss stated that he would discuss this question further in San Francisco.

Mr. Stettinius added that we will do everything in our power to ensure that the documents were printed in Russian.

Mr. Molotov again expressed the desire to have all documents printed in Russian since it is one of the official languages.

Mr. Stettinius stated that investigations are being made in San Francisco to find out if it might not be possible to print the documents instead of having to mimeograph them.

Mr. Hiss stated that the next question concerned the matter of inviting unofficial international organizations to attend the Conference as observers or advisers. He added that a question had arisen as to whether nationals of non-United Nations could be admitted as observers or advisers to the Conference. He pointed out that this question had not been raised until March 31 when it was raised by the Soviet Government and that in the meantime invitations had been sent informally to various of these organizations and that some of the unofficial observers were not citizens of one of the United Nations.

Mr. Molotov remarked that he felt that it should have been clearly understood that only citizens of one of the United Nations could be invited to the Conference.

Mr.

committees it would be advisable for each group to fix its own voting rules. In regard to the public sessions, however, he stated that we must have some rule for voting and suggested that in regard to procedural matters decisions should be taken by majority vote and that on matters of substance decisions should be taken on the basis of a two-thirds majority. Mr. Hiss added that he hoped that this question would be approached in a spirit of the Conference as a whole so that agreement will be reached in the closed sessions before the question at issue is discussed in public meetings, in order to avoid the possibility of the impression being gained that divergencies exist. He then asked whether the Foreign Ministers would agree that this question should be discussed with the other delegations.

(It was agreed that this question could be discussed with the other delegations.).

Mr. Molotov asked whether it was contemplated to have consultations with the four sponsoring delegations in regard to other questions that might come up.

Mr. Hiss stated that of course there would be such consultations.

Mr. Molotov stated that he hoped an agreement would be reached to permit this organization to participate.

Mr. Stettinius pointed out that the organization was not a governmental body.

Mr. Molotov then suggested that it might be advisable to make an exception for this organization and did not think it would be right to refuse this request.

Mr. Eden pointed out that if we accepted this request we would have to accept the many similar requests from other organizations.

Mr. Dunn pointed out that we had had requests from about eighty-five similar organizations.

Mr. Eden stated that the British Government had requests from approximately forty such organizations.

Mr. Hiss replying to Mr. Molotov's suggestion that this be left up to the Steering Committee pointed out that invitations to the Conference were issued by the sponsoring powers and not by the Steering Committee.

Mr. Molotov remarked that he had with him the Chairman of the Soviet Trade Union organization.

Mr. Stettinius stated that we had discussed the question of Mr. Hillman at some length and that after careful consideration it had been turned down.

Mr. Molotov asked that reconsideration be given to this matter.

Mr. Eden remarked that in regard to the Chairman of the Soviet Trade Union organization, he was accredited as an official delegate of the Soviet Government and that of course any government could accredit individuals as official delegates no matter what his private capacity was.

Mr. Hiss then brought up the question of the proposed changes to the Dumbarton Oaks agreement which the Chinese Government had suggested. He pointed out that these suggested changes had been agreed to by the United States Government and that they had been sent to the Soviet Government on March 16 but that no reply had yet been received.

Mr. Stettinius suggested that these Chinese proposals be put on the table for discussion in connection with other proposed changes in the Dumbarton Oaks proposal.

Mr. Molotov stated that the Soviet Government would support the Chinese Government in this matter and hoped that the Chinese Government would also support the Soviet Union.

Mr. Hiss then brought up the voting procedure. He suggested that in closed sessions of the commissions and committees

Mr. Eden pointed out that these individuals would attend not as nationals of their own countries but as representatives of the unofficial organizations, and therefore he did not think the question very important.

Mr. Molotov agreed that the question was not too important, but he felt that it was logical that only citizens of a United Nations should be invited. He pointed out that while the Soviet Union is not a member of the League of Nations or the International Labor organization it had not objected to these organizations being represented, but he thought that the individuals representing such organizations should be citizens of a United Nation.

Mr. Eden stated that he did not think that Mr. Molotov could accuse him of pushing to have an Irishman represent one of these organizations.

Mr. Molotov said that he did not, of course, think that, but he was just expressing the opinion of his Government.

Mr. Stettinius pointed out that it would not be necessary for the official delegates to see or talk with any of these individuals, who in reality would only have "tickets to the balcony".

Dr. Seong agreed that it was a minor question.

Mr. Eden said that he was willing to have neutrals invited and asked whether Mr. Molotov agreed.

Mr. Molotov stated that he wished to maintain the position of the Soviet Government.

Mr. Hiss stated that Sydney Hillman had asked the Department whether it would be possible to have a representative of the International Labor organization accredited as an adviser to the Conference. He added that all the sponsoring powers except the Soviet Union were against this proposal since this would mean that the International Labor organization would have a different position than the other unofficial international organizations.

Mr. Molotov stated that the presence of any of these people in San Francisco would not interfere with the Conference.

Mr. Eden observed that representatives of this organization could not be invited as advisers since the organization was not a government and therefore it could not be an adviser to a government.

Mr. Molotov then suggested that they should be invited as observers.

Mr. Stettinius pointed out that Mr. Hillman did not want this, and added that many other organizations had been invited as observers but that the International Labor organization wished to be accredited as official adviser.

Mr.

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)

Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1972

by ~~12-112~~ NARS Date ~~6-26-75~~

April 25, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Current Foreign Developments

SHAEF CONSIDERING RELEASE OF PRISONERS TO RELIEVE GERMAN LABOR SHORTAGE. SHAEF is considering a proposal to the Combined Chiefs of Staff that selected prisoners of war whose homes are in occupied Germany should be unconditionally released for employment as civilians in order to relieve the acute labor shortage in agriculture, mining and transportation. Released prisoners would come under the control of Allied military government.

HITLER REPORTED TO HAVE LEFT BERLIN. Swiss Minister Stucki has heard that Hitler left Berlin on April 20 and has gone to Reuditz.

ALLIED COOPERATION WITH YUGOSLAV OPERATIONS IN ISTRIA. The probable early capture of Istria, including Fiume, has raised the question of Allied air and sea assistance to Partisans in operations in this area. The British feel that the Partisans will be able to overrun this area in any event and consider that support should be given to them in order to preserve good relations with Tito. Kirk requests instructions.

FRENCH AGREE TO GERMAN PROPOSAL REGARDING PRISONERS OF WAR. The French Government has agreed to accept the German proposal to leave prisoners of war in their present location on condition that it will affect only prisoners actually held at the moment of liberation and that the obligation not again to use them applies only to operations against Germany. Caffery is endeavoring to obtain omission of the second condition on the ground that the Germans have not specified any particular theater and that the French would therefore be able to place their own interpretation on this aspect of the agreement.

LAVAL

LAVAL DENIED PERMISSION TO ENTER SWITZERLAND. Minister Stucki has informed Harrison that Laval on April 23 requested permission to enter Switzerland but was refused. He was told that a transit visa would be issued to him for passage through Switzerland to France.

MID-EAST COMMAND CONCERN OVER FRENCH TROOP MOVEMENTS TO LEVANT. Mid-East Command has requested the British War Office to hold up a proposed move of French colonial troops to the Levant on two French warships. Mid-East believes that the arrival of these troops would affect adversely negotiations between France and the Levant States. Even though troops are intended as normal relief Mid-East feels that they should not come on French warships.

ARGENTINE LIBERAL ASKS FOR DELAY IN ARGENTINE UNITED NATIONS SIGNATURE AND PARTICIPATION IN UNCIO. Pinedo, Argentine Liberal and former Finance Minister, has begged that there be a delay of a week or two in permitting the Argentine Government to sign the United Nations Declaration and inviting it to San Francisco. He stated that impression exists that we are hastening these steps in order to strengthen the Government and are thereby offending all Liberal elements, particularly at a time when Argentine Liberals have been arrested. He fears that early action would undermine American position throughout South America for a long time to come.

JOSEPH O. GRAY

Acting Secretary



Address by the Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.,
Secretary of State, at the Opening of the United Nations
Conference on International Organization, at
San Francisco
April 25, 1945



President Truman has spoken of the grievous loss which came to America and to the world less than two weeks ago. This Conference of United Nations to prepare the Charter of a World Organization was close to the heart of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Many of the last hours of his life he spent in preparations for this moment - for a moment he could not live to see.

Now we have met here at the time and at the place which he proposed to accomplish a task essential to the great purpose for which he spent his strength so lavishly - the assurance of lasting peace after victory in this war. We have lost a wise and valiant leader, but the purpose lives on. In this purpose the United States is more resolute than ever.

It is America which spoke through Franklin D. Roosevelt when he said, after the Crimea Conference:

"The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man, or one party, or one nation. It cannot be an American peace, or a British, a Russian, a French, or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of large nations - or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world.....There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict."

It is America also which spoke through President Truman just now, when he said:

"We will either push our struggle for security to its logical conclusion in an organization of the world for peace, or another war, worse if anything than this, will finish the destruction which this war began."

B File

In their purpose to build an enduring structure of world peace the people of the United States believe they are firmly united with all the other United Nations - with the large countries which have of necessity borne the main burden of winning victory over our common enemies, and with the smaller countries of which so many have suffered the agony and destruction caused by mankind's failure to unite in time against aggression.

We Americans believe that the United Nations must work together to make secure both peace and freedom because the vital national interests of each of the United Nations require it. No one of the large nations, or of the small nations, can afford anything less than success in this endeavor. We know too well what the consequences of failure would be. It would be national disaster beyond measure for each of the United Nations.

It is, therefore, with this strong bond of mutual interest that this Conference of United Nations begins. It is with this clear understanding of what the realities demand of us that we fortify our high vision of a permanent structure of organized peace.

A great American, Cordell Hall, whose improving health we all hope will permit him to take full part in this Conference later on, expressed to me last Sunday, his "profound faith that, whatever the difficulties, the labors of the Conference will be crowned with success."

To us, who are Americans, it is a hopeful augury that this Conference has met in San Francisco. You know, I think, that San Francisco is a symbol in our history. To us the West has always meant the future. But San Francisco is something more than a city of the west. It is the place toward which whole generations of Americans have turned their eyes.

With faith the pioneers trod a new path across an unknown wilderness. With courage, they met every danger along the way until they reached the promised land they sought. Since then Americans have always thought of California, of San Francisco, as a place where all hopes came true, where all purposes could be accomplished.



B File

Now the deepest hope and highest purpose of all mankind - enduring peace - is here committed to our hands. We, too, are pioneering a new road. We, too, must call upon the courage and the faith of those who came to California across the wilderness.

With that image of the aspiration of mankind before us, with the conviction that the work we have to do is good and that our purpose can be brought to pass, let us unite with confidence and hope in our common labor.



85-B
HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

APRIL 23, 1945

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be broadcast in connection with the opening of the San Francisco Conference, MUST BE MADE IN CONFIDENTIALITY until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 7:30 P.M., L.V.T., WEDNESDAY, April 23, 1945. The same release applies to radio announcements and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

JONATHAN DANIELS
Secretary to the President

Delegation to the United Nations Conference
on International Organization:

The world has experienced a revival of an old faith in the everlasting moral force of justice. At no time in history has there been a more important Conference, nor a more necessary meeting, than this one in San Francisco, which you are opening today.

On behalf of the American people, I extend to you a most hearty welcome.

President Roosevelt appointed on this delegation to represent the United States. I have complete confidence in its Chairman, Secretary of State Stettinius, and in his distinguished colleagues, former Secretary Cordell Hull, Senator Connally, Senator Vandenberg, Representative Bloom and Representative Eaton, Governor Eklund and Dean Gildersleeve.

They have my confidence. They have my support.

In the name of a great humanitarian -- one who surely is with us today in spirit -- I earnestly appeal to each and every one of you to rise above personal interests, and adhere to these lofty principles, which benefit all mankind.

Franklin D. Roosevelt gave his life while trying to perpetuate these high ideals. This Conference owes its existence, in a large part, to the vision and foresight and determination of Franklin Roosevelt.

Each of you can remember other courageous champions, who also made the supreme sacrifice, serving under your flag. They gave their lives, so that others might live in security. They died to insure justice. We must work and live to guarantee justice -- for all.

You members of this Conference are to be the architects of the better world. Is your hands rests our future. By your labors at this Conference, we shall know if suffering humanity is to achieve a just and lasting peace.

Let us labor to achieve a peace which is really worthy of their great sacrifice. We must make certain, by your work here, that another war will be impossible.

We, who have lived through the torture and the tragedy of two world conflicts, must realize the magnitude of the problem before us. We do not seek far-sighted vision to understand the trend in recent history. Its significance is all too clear.

With ever-increasing brutality and destruction, modern warfare, if unchecked, would ultimately crush all civilization. We still have a choice between the alternative: the continuation of international chaos -- or the establishment of a world organization for the enforcement of peace.

It is not the purpose of this Conference to draft a treaty of peace in the old sense of that term. It is not our assignment to settle specific questions of territories, boundaries, citizenship and reparations.

This Conference will devote its energies and its labors exclusively to the single problem of setting up the essential organization to keep the peace. You are to write the fundamental charter.

Our sole objective, at this decisive gathering, is to create the structure. We must provide the machinery, which will make future peace, not only possible, but certain.

The construction of this colossal machine is far more complicated than drawing boundary lines on a map, or estimating fair reparations, or placing reasonable limits upon armaments. Your task must be completed first.

We represent the overwhelming majority of all mankind. We speak for people, who have endured the most savage and devastating war ever inflicted upon innocent men, women and children.

We hold a powerful mandate from our people. They believe we will fulfill this obligation. We must prevent, if human skill, heart and hope can prevent it, the repetition of the disaster from which the entire world will suffer for years to come.

If we should pay merely lip service to inspiring ideals, and later do violence to steps justice, we would draw down upon us the bitter wrath of generations yet unborn.

We must not continue to sacrifice the fiber of our youth merely to check nations, those who in every age plan world domination. The sacrifices of our youth today must lead, through your efforts, to the building for tomorrow of a mighty combination of nations founded upon justice for peace.

Justice remains the greatest power on earth.

To that tremendous power alone, will we submit.

Not long ago, I told the Congress of the United States, and I now repeat to you:

"Nothing is more essential to the future peace of the world, than continued cooperation of the nations, which had to muster the force necessary to defeat the conspiracy of the axis powers to dominate the world."

"While these great states have a special responsibility to enforce the peace, their responsibility is based upon the obligations resting upon all states, large and small, not to use force in international relations, except in the defense of law. The responsibility of the great states is to serve, and not dominate the peoples of the world."

Some of us doubt that with Divine guidance, friendly cooperation, and hard work, we shall find no adequate answer to the problem history has put before us.

Realizing the scope of our task and the imperative need for success, we proceed with humility and determination.

By harmonious cooperation, the United Nations repelled the onslaught of the greatest aggregation of military force that was ever assembled in the long history of aggression. Every nation now fighting for freedom is acting according to its ability and opportunity.

We fully realize today that victory in war requires a mighty united effort. Certainly, victory in peace calls for, and must receive, an equal effort.

Man has learned long ago, that it is impossible to live unto himself. This same basic principle applies today to nations. We were not isolated during the war. We born and became isolated in peace.

All will concede that in order to have good neighbors, we must also be good neighbors. That applies in every field of human endeavor.

For lasting security, men of good-will must unite and organize. Moreover, if our friendly policies should ever be encroached by belligerent leaders, we surely evidence of weakness, the organizations we establish must be adequately prepared to meet any challenge.

Differences between men, and between nations, will always remain. In fact, if held within reasonable limits, such disagreements are actually wholesome. All progress begins with differences of opinion and moves onward as the differences are adjusted through reason and mutual understanding.

In recent weeks, our enemies have clearly demonstrated the disaster which follows when freedom of thought is no longer tolerated. Harsh words cannot long be regimented without protest.

The essence of our problem here is to provide sensible machinery for the settlement of disputes among nations. Without this, peace cannot exist. We can no longer permit any nation, or group of nations, to attempt to settle their arguments with bombs and bayonets.

If we continue to abide by such decisions, we will be forced to accept the fundamental philosophy of our enemies, namely, that "might makes right". To deny this premise, and we must certainly do, we are obliged to provide the necessary means to refute it. Words are not enough.

We must, once and for all, reverse the order, and prove by our acts convincingly, that Right has Right.

If we do not want to die together in war, we must learn to live together in peace.

With firm faith in our hearts, to maintain us along the hard road to victory, we will find our way to a secure peace, for the ultimate benefit of all humanity.

We must build a new world -- a far better world -- one in which the eternal dignity of man is respected.

As we are about to undertake our heavy duties, we beseech Almighty God to guide us in building a permanent monument to those who gave their lives that this moment might come.

May He lead our steps in His own righteous path of peace.

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E.O. 11652, Sec. 2X and 3X) of (D)
Dept. of State Order, Aug. 10, 1973
By SP-11/10/73 NAME Don L. 26-21

TOP SECRET

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 27, 1945

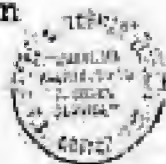
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT //

Subject: UNCIO Developments

The Secretary has asked that the following message be transmitted to you:

The American Delegation this morning concurred in the decision to assure the Soviet Foreign Minister that the United States would support actively the inclusion of the Ukrainian and White Russian Republics among the initial members of the organization and the seating of delegates from these two Republics in the Conference at a later date. The Delegation also agreed to the proposal that Argentina be invited to the Conference at a later date, without being invited to sign the United Nations declaration.

The Steering Committee met this morning for four hours but neither of the above-mentioned questions was discussed. The Committee accepted the French proposal, which was supported by the Russians, that the French as well as English be a working language of the Conference. Padilla proposed a single presiding officer, but this proposal received no vocal support, though all the Latin American countries would have voted for it. Molotov proposed four presidents with equal status, but this proposal also received no support. Eden proposed four presidents with the chairman of the host delegation acting as the chairman of this group and the four rotating as presiding officers of plenary sessions. Under



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E.O. 11652, Dec. 22, 1963 and 3025 at (17)

Dept. of State Letter, Aug. 10, 1972

By ALTY/ALC, NARA Date 6-24-75

- 2 -

this proposal the chairman of the host delegation would also serve as chairman of the Steering and Executive Committees. The Soviets have not agreed to this proposal, but it was supported by a considerable number of other countries including the British dominions, Belgium and Holland.

Since the Steering Committee was unable to come to agreement on this point and did not reach the other matters on its agenda, it will meet again tomorrow morning to consider the business before it. The Committee did not therefore today report to the plenary session.

At the plenary session speeches were delivered by me, Soong, Molotov and Eden. In my speech I stressed the fact that Dumbarton Oaks proposals are to serve as the basis of the work of the Conference, that however many proposals for improvements in the proposals have been put forward and some will doubtless be accepted by the Conference, that it is essential that the charter as established by the Conference shall be subject to amendment later in accordance with experience and changing circumstances. I stressed the fact that the two essential conditions on which the organization must be based are the unity of the major powers who will bear the chief responsibilities and the sovereign equality of all states large and small which are members of the organization.

Soong emphasized China's role as the first nation which had been subjected to and had resisted aggression. He stated that all nations must be ready to make some sacrifice of sovereignty in order to achieve collective security.

Molotov, after describing the weaknesses of the League of Nations and expressing the view that it had often been used as a tool of reactionary powers, stated that the U.S.S.R. is a firm supporter of the establishment

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- 3 -

EC. 11832; Sec. 303 and 304 in (B)

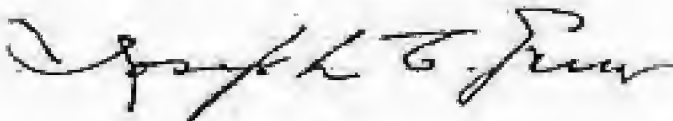
Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1952

By ~~SECRET~~ ~~SECRET~~ NAME ~~SECRET~~ 24-75

of a strong and effective international organization, that it will cooperate fully in the task of creating and maintaining such an organization and that it is confident of success in this task. He pointed out that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals are the basis of the work of the Conference and emphasized the essential role which the unity of the five principal powers must play but indicated that the U.S.S.R. will heed the suggestions of all other peace-loving nations large or small.

Eden laid emphasis on the fact that great powers, precisely because of their preponderance in armed force and resources, must exercise self-restraint in proportion with their responsibilities. He pointed out that the Conference would merely lay out the framework of the international organization and expressed the hope that it might complete its work within four weeks.

At its meeting this morning the American Delegation also agreed to propose a new paragraph in regard to the amendment of the charter which would provide that a general conference of the members of the United Nations may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a three-fourths vote of the General Assembly with the concurrence of the Security Council for the purpose of revising the charter. Any alterations of the charter recommended by a two-thirds vote of the Conference would take effect when ratified by the permanent members of the Security Council and by a majority of the other members of the organization.



Acting Secretary

TOP SECRET

SECURITY: Sec. 25 and 501 of 50

Dept. of State James, Aug. 10, 1973

By 11/11/73 KARA Date 7/11/75

DSH-959

No paraphrase necessary.
(TOP SECRET)

SAN FRANCISCO

DATED May 1, 1945

REC'D 5:24 a.m.

TO: THE PRESIDENT, THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON
FROM: STETTINIUS, UNCIO, SAN FRANCISCO

3, May 1

TOP SECRET

For the President



The following matters were dealt with in the various committees and in the plenary session today.

1. Participation of two Soviet republics in the conference. The proposal to admit these two republics to participate in the conference was approved unanimously in the Executive Committee and the Steering Committee and by acclamation in the plenary session.

2. "Participation of Argentina in the conference. This question was raised in the Executive Committee by Mexico and Chile. Molotov replied that Argentina had helped the enemy throughout the war and that if Argentina is invited and Poland is not it will be a blow to the prestige of the conference. He said that all other invitations had been issued with the unanimous agreement of all the sponsors but that this would not be the case

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-2-, #3, May 1, from UNCIO.

if an invitation should be issued to Argentina since the Soviet Union would vote against the invitation. Evatt recommended delay and reference to the next meeting of the committee. He felt that Argentina is pro-Fascist and has opposed the United Nations in the war -- nevertheless he recognized that the return of Argentina to the community of nations is of the first importance and probably should be permitted. I stated that Argentina was asked at Mexico City to declare war on the Axis and to sign the acts of the Mexico City conference, that the American Republics feel that she has complied and desire that she be represented at San Francisco and that the United States is in entire accord with the desire of her sister republics. Molotov moved that the question of the Argentine participation be referred to the four sponsoring powers for preliminary consideration. Mr. Eden said that he saw no use putting off the decision. The Mexican motion proposing participation of Argentina in the conference was then put to a vote and approved 9 to 3. Russia, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia voted in the negative and China and Iran did not vote. Molotov's motion for reference of the question to the sponsoring powers was defeated by a vote of 4 to 0. The same question was discussed at length in the Steering Committee later in

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-3-, #3, May 1, from UNCIO.

the morning. Molotov took the same position and read statements made by Mr. Hull and President Roosevelt last autumn expressing strong distrust of the present Argentina régime. He made every effort to link the Argentina and the Polish questions and also claimed that he had not been informed that the Argentine question would be raised. I pointed out that the Argentina question had been discussed at the meeting in my apartment last Saturday evening attended by the Foreign Ministers of the sponsoring powers and those of Brazil, Chile and Mexico and that this question had been placed on the agenda of this meeting at the request of the Soviet delegation.

A large number of the Latin American delegates spoke with a great deal of feeling urging that the unity of the hemisphere and the commitments assumed by the American Republics at Mexico City required that Argentina be permitted to attend the San Francisco conference. The Soviets again urged that the question be delayed stating that they respected the attitude of the Latin American countries but wished further time to consider the question. The Soviet motion that the matter be delayed was defeated 7 to 25 and an Ecuadoran motion that Argentina be admitted to the conference was passed 29 to 5. Those opposing the Ecuadoran motion were Russia, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Belgium and Greece.

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-4-, #3, May 1, from UNCIO.

The same issue was raised in the plenary session when the rapporteur of the Steering Committee reported that committee's action. Once again the same motions were presented and the Soviet motion defeated and the Latin American motion approved by closely similar votes to those recorded in the Steering Committee.

3. Representation of World Trade Union Conference.

This question was presented to the Steering Committee by Mr. Kuznetsov, Chairman of the Soviet Council of Trade Unions, a member of the Soviet delegation, who urged the importance of permitting this labor group which he stated represents 60,000,000 workers in thirty-odd countries to participate in the conference in a consultative or advisory capacity. When this recommendation was opposed by a considerable number of delegates who pointed out that if one private organization were admitted it would be difficult to exclude a considerable number of others with equally valid claims Molotov did not press for a vote. General sympathy for the labor movement was, however, expressed by several delegates and it was agreed that the trade union conference like other organizations might present proposals to the conference which would be distributed by the Secretariat to all delegations.

4. Participation of nationals of non-United Nations as observers representing inter-governmental organizations.

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-5-, #3, May 1, from UNCIO.

The Soviets raised this question in the executive committee urging that it was improper for such persons to attend the conference. They obviously had in mind Sean Lester, an Irish national, representing the League of Nations. However, when a number of delegates opposed the Soviet view pointing out that the persons in question did not appear here as representatives of their nations but as representatives of inter-governmental organizations which had received invitations from the sponsoring powers the Soviets did not press for a vote.

5. Trusteeship. We presented our paper at a meeting tonight with representatives of Russia, China, France, United States and Great Britain. It seemed to be favorably received particularly by the British and the Chinese. They are referring it to their Governments and it will be discussed again at a meeting on Thursday.

STETTINIUS



~~TOP SECRET~~

EOC-1302
No paraphrase necessary.
(TOP SECRET)

SAN FRANCISCO

DATED MAY 2, 1945.

REC'D 4:54 a.m.

TO: THE PRESIDENT, THE WHITE HOUSE
FROM: STETTINIUS, UNCIO, SAN FRANCISCO

4, May 2

TOP SECRET

The following developments took place during the day:

1. Allocation of positions on committees and commissions of the conference. At the meeting of the Executive Committee there was presented the slate of positions which had been unanimously approved by the sponsoring powers last evening. Since it was wished neither to make the Argentine question a subject of further debate at this time nor to preclude the ultimate assignment of a position to Argentina the place of rapporteur of the commission on judicial organization was left vacant with a view to its being ultimately assigned to Argentina. The Soviets agreed informally to leaving the position open but did not commit themselves in regard to its later assignment to Argentina. No mention whatsoever was made in either

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R.O. 11652, Sec. 2(E) and 3(D) or (G)

Dept. of State Index, Aug. 16, 1971

By NAME Date

-2- #4, May 2, from UNCIO.

the Executive or Steering Committee as to the reason why this place had been left vacant. When the slate was presented to the Executive Committee the French delegation objected both on the ground that the list had been prepared without consultation with the other members of the committee and on the ground that no place had been assigned to France. Evatt supported Bidault on both counts emphasizing his belief that the four sponsors having called the conference together should now turn its direction over to the Executive Committee. I replied that the slate had been prepared by the sponsors merely as a matter of convenience for the consideration of the Executive Committee and that it was of course open to full and free discussion by the committee. Both Eden and Molotov at once offered to cede their positions on committees 2 and 3 of the third commission. It was decided that France should replace the United Kingdom as rapporteur of the committee on enforcement arrangements and with this change the slate was approved unanimously. In view of the fact that the Chief of the United States delegation is Chairman of the Steering and Executive Committees no other committee assignment had been made to the United States. The Steering Committee and the Plenary Session unanimously approved the list of assignments as amended

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EO 11652, Sect. 263 and 265 or 26
Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1972
BY SP-11/263, NAME SP-11/263

-3- #4, May 2, from UNCIO.

by the Executive Committee.

2. Voting procedure in public sessions. At an earlier meeting of the Steering Committee Mr. Evatt had objected to a proposed rule of procedure whereunder all questions of substance arising in plenary sessions or public sessions of commissions would have to be decided by a two-thirds majority on the grounds that this rule might prevent any important amendment to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. The Secretariat therefore today presented a new recommendation providing for a simple majority vote except in cases where the body concerned might feel that a larger majority was desirable. Molotov recommended a return to the original proposal stating that his experience yesterday had convinced him that the decision of important matters by a simple majority vote was open to serious objection. He stated that while the Soviet Union had but one vote there were twenty American Republics and these with the Philippines and Liberia could muster nearly half of the total number of votes of the conference. I pointed out that the United States is in favor of the original rule which would require a two-thirds vote on matters of substance. In view of the important nature of the issue, however, I recommended that the question be referred to the Executive Committee and this was done.

~~TOP SECRET~~

3. Proposed



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EO 11652, Sec. 202 and 203 or 20

Dept. of State Jett. A-1, 10, 1572

By NAHS Date

-4- #4, May 2, from UNCIO.

3. Proposed alterations in Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

The United States delegation has completed its consideration of alterations in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and an exchange of views on this subject is now taking place at the working level among the four sponsors. A copy of the altered proposals has been dispatched to you and a brief summary thereof will appear in tomorrow's telegram.

4. Statements in the plenary session. Marshal Smuts paid a stirring tribute both to President Roosevelt and to President Wilson. He stated that though we must realistically recognize the new responsibilities of the great powers he hoped that the big five would have to assume an outstanding role only long enough to develop the habit of cooperation. The Ethiopian delegate stressed the importance of guaranteeing the independence of small nations, urged that the Security Council have the power to make quick decisions and take immediate action and came out strongly against giving responsibility to regional organizations. Bidault paid a cordial tribute both to the President and to Mr. Roosevelt. He expressed his regret that Poland is not seated at the conference. He hoped that the big five "entente" could be maintained and developed and stated that bilateral treaties of mutual assistance are not inconsistent with but complementary to the world organization.

~~TOP SECRET~~

5. Current

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-6- #4, May 2, from UNCIO.



warning in committee a position for or against Russian desiderata. According to secret information from a good source Gromyko called on Bidault to inquire how France would vote on the question of the admission of Argentina. Bidault replied that France would vote in favor of admitting Argentina just as she would vote in favor of admitting the two Soviet Republics. Plans for departure of British and Canadian delegates. A secret but unconfirmed report states that Eden will probably have to leave San Francisco not later than V-E Day to deal with urgent problems resulting from the German collapse and to take part in the election campaign which will follow shortly after V-E Day.

Atle and Mrs. Wilkinson will have to leave not later than May 15 to attend (repeat attend) the Labor Party conference on May 20. Mackenzie King will probably leave on May 14 to begin his election campaign and all the political members of the Canadian delegation may depart at the same time.

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EO 11652, Sec. 3(c) and 3(d) or (e)

Dept. of State Files, Aug. 10, 1972

BY SLT/SLC, NARS Date 3-16-75

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EO 11652, Sec. 2(d) and 5(f) of (D)

Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1972

By ~~SECRET~~ NARS Date ~~11/15/74~~

-5- #4, May 2, from UNCIO

5. Current attitudes of other delegations.

Dominions' attitude on Argentina. Canada, Australia and New Zealand agreed in advance to support our position. Canada did so throughout but Australia and New Zealand each voted on at least one occasion for postponement of the question. Evatt on trusteeship. Evatt is prepared to see Australian possessions or mandates other than strategic areas placed under a system of trusteeship in which Australian administration would be subject to review by an international body. He expressed the hope though not the belief that other countries having colonial possessions would do likewise. He also hoped that the areas in the Pacific which we consider of strategic importance to our defense would all be north of the Equator but did not show concern when advised that we might have some interest in a small number of areas south of the Equator. French reactions. The French delegation has shown repeated signs of nervousness and irritation at not being consulted on the decisions taken by the sponsor. While admitting that this is a direct result of their refusal to accept sponsorship they nevertheless feel that their position as a permanent member of the future Security Council entitles them to a voice on matters of substance between the great powers and suffer genuine embarrassment at being forced to take without

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warning

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E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(a) and 3(c) or (d)

Dept. of State letter, A-9, 10, 1972

By 10/10/72 NAME Date 10/10/72**TOP SECRET**

1, May 4 [45]



For the President

1. Consultations among the four sponsoring powers on amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Considerable progress was made today. The following amendments were accepted:

A. The United States proposal for a review of the charter by a general conference of the United Nations at a date to be fixed by a three-fourths vote of the Assembly with the concurrence of the Council.

B. The United States proposal for specific reference in the first chapter to the principles of justice and international law.

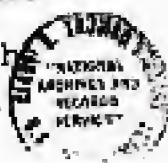
C. The Soviet proposal for specific reference in the first chapter to respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and in the fifth chapter, under the functions and powers of the Assembly, to basic freedoms for all without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex.

D. The United States proposal for reference in the first chapter to human rights and fundamental freedoms.

E. The Soviet

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TOP SECRET



E. The Soviet proposal that the charter shall come into force when ratified by the permanent members of the Council and a majority of the other members of the organization.

F. A new formula in regard to domestic jurisdiction stating that the organization shall not interfere with matters within the domestic jurisdiction of states or require members to submit such matters to settlement under the charter, but that should a dispute arising out of such a matter assume an international character and constitute a threat to the peace or cause a breach of the peace, the Security Council may take the appropriate action under the enforcement provisions of the charter.

At its meeting this evening the United States delegation decided that it would approve the British proposal for some special consideration for the "Middle Powers" in the selection of non-permanent members of the Council, though our proposal will be that the formula refer not only to the contribution of such states towards the maintenance of peace and security and towards the other purposes of the organization, but to their geographical position as well. The delegation also agreed to accept the Chinese proposal to appear in the enforcement provisions of the charter, authorizing the Council, before it decides upon definitive measures for the maintenance or restoration of peace in a particular

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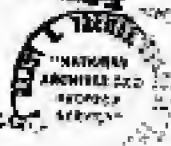
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E.O. 11652, Sec. 2(b) and (d) or (e)

- 3 -

Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1972

FRANCIS AND SARA DATE 3-28-75

~~TOP SECRET~~

particular case, to call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it may deem necessary to prevent an aggravation of the situation.

Two principal issues remain open for agreement among the four sponsoring powers, the first the United States proposal to authorize the Assembly to recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of situations likely to impair the general welfare, including situation arising out of any treaties or international engagements, this, of course, is the provision to which Senator Vandenberg attaches the greatest importance. It seems probable that the British and Chinese might accept this clause, but the Soviets remain completely adamant. They admit, however, that the clause as it stands in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals would authorize the Assembly to make recommendations in regard to situations of this kind.

The second principal issue still unsettled is the Soviet proposal which would permit the automatic implementation without reference to the Security Council, of regional or bilateral arrangements provided for in treaties already concluded, directed against the renewal of aggression on the part of the aggressor states in the present war. (It is understood that the French are not wholly satisfied with this Soviet draft, since they wish it to cover the proposed Franco-British Mutual Assistance Pact which has

not

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E.O. 11652, Sec. 2(D) and 5(D) or (G)
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Pres. Order, 1962 Date 3-11-72

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not yet been concluded.

A third unsettled issue of lesser but still considerable significance is a British proposal which would permit the Council to decide in case of a particular dispute whether to recommend appropriate procedures of settlement (as provided in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals) or itself to recommend terms of settlement.

2. Press announcement on amendments. The delegation agreed that the United States amendments should not be given to the press until consultation with the other sponsors is completed. This will presumably be tomorrow, as all substantive amendments must be submitted to the conference by that date if they are to be received. At a press conference today Stassen stated the nine main objectives of the delegation which, in fact, cover the gist of our amendments.

3. Meeting with French Foreign Minister. Mr. Bidault and Ambassador Bonnet called today at Bidault's request. A long somewhat stormy but on the whole friendly conversation ensued. Essentially Bidault insisted that France be associated from now on with the Four-Power discussions on amendments, stating that public and official pressure in France was such that if this were not done he would undoubtedly be recalled, leaving the representation of
France

DEVELOPMENTS

EO 11652, Sec. 3D and 3D) or (D)

Dept. of State Index, Aug. 10, 1973

WILLIAM W. WATSON NABED Nov. 2, 1902 - 25 -

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~~TOP SECRET~~

France at the conference to technical advisers without authority. I agreed to bring this matter up at once with the other three Foreign Ministers and not only to introduce but to support fully the French request that Bidault be included in further Big Four discussions on conference matters.

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E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 3(F) or (G)

Dept. of State Inact. Aug. 10, 1972

Prescribed by E.O. 11652 Date 10/10/72

SAN FRANCISCO

1, May 5 1945



For the President

1. Consultations among the four sponsoring powers on amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

It was agreed that the four sponsoring powers would present to the conference a joint set of amendments which will be released to the press in the morning. In addition each sponsor is free to present its own amendment on points on which agreement has not yet been reached. In addition to the accepted amendments which have already been communicated to you the following were agreed upon today:

A. In regard to the choice of the non-permanent members of the Council it was agreed that due regard should be paid especially to their contribution to the maintenance of peace and security and other purposes of the organization and also "to equitable geographical distribution."

B. The

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EO 11652, Sec. 3(D) and 3(D) or (E)

Dept. of State Inset, Aug. 10, 1972

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B. The British proposal was accepted which would authorize the Council in case of a particular dispute to recommend terms as well as procedures of settlement.

C. It was agreed to state specifically in the chapter relating to the Economic and Social Council that the Council should set up commissions in the field of cultural activity and promotion of human rights as well as in the fields of economic and social activity.

D. It was agreed to place the "domestic jurisdiction" paragraph under chapter two principles and to state at that point that nothing in the charter shall authorize the organization to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a state or require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the charter but that this principle shall not prejudice enforcement action under Charter Eight Section B.

X E. In regard to the International Court the joint amendment states that the provisions of chapter seven of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals should be adjusted to bring it into conformity with the recommendation to be made by Commission 4 of the conference in the light of the Jurists Committee's report.

The four sponsoring powers were unable to reach agreement on two questions. One is the proposal of

Senator



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EO. 11652, Sec. 3(D) and 3(D) or (D)

- 3 - Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1972

Re: USSR NAME Date 10/10/72

Senator Vandenberg which in its original form would have authorized the Assembly to make recommendations in regard to situations likely to impair the general welfare or to violate the principles of the United Nations Declaration including those arising out of treaties or other international arrangements. This morning the Soviets appeared to accept in principle a draft on this point which was acceptable to the delegation. This draft provides that the Assembly could recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation regardless of origin which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations and of situations resulting from violations of the purposes and principles of the charter.

However, the Soviets have been holding out on this point until their amendment with respect to treaties concerning enemy states is settled. What they apparently have in mind is the protection of their treaties with France Czechoslovakia et cetera. This question was debated at great length tonight, I believe that it will still be possible to reach an agreement but it may take some little time. The draft discussed on this point provides that no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Council with the exception of measures against enemy states in this war provided for in

Chapter

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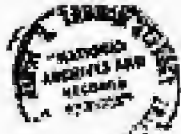
EO. 11652, Sec. 2(b) and 5(D) or (E)

Dept. of State Letter, Aug. 10, 1979

By 11/16/80 WARS Date 11/16/80

Chapter Twelve of the Charter or in regional arrangements directed against renewal of aggression on the part of such states until such time as the World Organization may be charged with the responsibility for preventing further aggression by these states. In order to meet tonight's deadline for amendments the several countries are submitting their own amendments on these two points. The United States, United Kingdom and China will present a practically identical amendment on the first point discussed above. The United States and United Kingdom will present a practically identical amendment on the second point. China concurs with our opinion but will not present an amendment.

2. Trusteeship. At a meeting last night of the five powers participating in the trusteeship discussions the United Kingdom presented its draft on this subject. This draft avoids any distinction between "strategic" and other areas but differentiates between civil and security functions. It provides specifically that it should be the duty of the administering state to ensure that the trust territory should play its part in the maintenance of peace and security and to this end the state should be empowered to make use of forces facilities and assistance from the territory in carrying out the obligations



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E.O. 11652, Sec. 5(1) and 5(2) of (a)
Dept. of State Instr. Aug. 10, 1972
FROM: SAC, WASH. D.C. (100-100000)

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5.

obligations undertaken by the state to the international organization. The administering state shall also furnish to the Security Council such information in respect of such territories as the Council may require as regards forces facilities or assistance which the state may employ from the resources of the territory in the discharge of its security obligations under the charter.

Since this draft is unacceptable to the United States delegation and no agreement could be reached it was decided that the subject of trusteeship would not form a part of the joint amendments submitted by the four sponsoring powers but that the United States and the United Kingdom would each submit its draft to the conference separately.

3. French participation in conference arrangements.

It was agreed among the four sponsoring powers that beginning next week France would participate with the four in any conversations they may hold in regard to the organization and conduct of the conference.

4. Work of the conference. Seven of the committees of the conference met today and organized themselves. Others will meet tomorrow for this purpose. They will not begin actual substantive work until Monday."

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

May 23, 1945

DECLASSIFIED

P.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)

Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1972

by ACCT/DAW WARE Date 6-11-75

~~TOP SECRET~~

Dear Matt,

I am sending to you for the President's private records a photostat of a memorandum that I placed before him this morning for discussion purposes. You will note his approval and his comments on the various items.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. Tamm



The Honorable
Matthew Connally
Secretary to the President
The White House

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON**TOP SECRET**DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Dept. of State Instr. Aug. 10, 1972
By SP-1 J. E. B., NAME Date 6-26-75CONFERENCE MATTERS TO DISCUSS WITH THE PRESIDENTI. Trip to San Francisco to Close Conference

Date still indefinite, but should be sometime during first week of June - Announcement.

*June 2-6*II. Major Problems Pending Before the Conference*King encouraged*1. Voting in the Security Council

There is great pressure from small nations to amend voting procedure adopted at Yalta, particularly with respect to peaceful settlement procedures and ratification of amendments. On peaceful settlements, this would mean that unanimity among the five powers, if not involved in the dispute, would not be required. Our delegation would agree to this if the Soviets were prepared to accept a modification. We are now talking to them on it but there is every indication that they will resist any change.

Unless the Soviets would accept a change, our Delegation recommends that we adhere to the Yalta formula in all respects. We feel, in any event, that there should be no change on amendments.

Do you approve?

2. Withdrawal

The two Senators feel it important that right of withdrawal not be prohibited but we feel the introduction of an amendment at this time would have an adverse psychological effect.

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E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(C) and 5(D) or (E)

TOP SECRET

Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1971

By ~~Handwritten~~ NAME Date 24-75

- 2 -

The Delegation therefore recommends the Charter remain silent on this point. We have placed our interpretation on the record that alliance would not preclude withdrawal but that the question would have to be determined in any particular case in the light of the surrounding circumstances at the time. OK.

Do you approve?

3. Full Employment

We have preferred "high and stable level of employment" rather than "full employment", but other countries favor "full employment" and if we oppose further press reaction would probably be very unfortunate.

Delegation has reconsidered and feels these words can remain but that the language in the Chapter on Economic and Social Cooperation should be substantially as follows: "promotion of solutions of international, economic, social, cultural, health and other related problems, including those which relate to higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development." OK.

Do you approve?

4. Participation of Non-Members of the Security Council in Council Decisions for the Employment of Military Forces

We recommend supporting the following which has been informally approved by the British, Chinese, and French, and on which the Soviets are awaiting instructions:

"When a decision to use force has been taken by the Security Council, it shall, before calling upon any Member not represented on it to provide armed forces in fulfillment of its obligations under the preceding paragraph, invite such Member, if it so request, to send a representative to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of its armed forces." OK.

Do you approve?

5. Jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice

There is strong pressure for compulsory jurisdiction, (which would make it mandatory to accept the jurisdiction of the Court) but the Delegation continues to favor voluntary jurisdiction (we would have to agree to a case involving us being submitted to the Court) with the optional acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction by agreement in specified cases.

Do you approve?

6. Trusteeship

A working paper has been approved by the sponsors and France. We are hopeful that full agreement can be reached. All except France are now agreed to having the word "independence" appear in the document as an objective as well as "self-government." The paper as written continues to protect our strategic area concept as set forth in the policy directive which you approved before we left Washington.

OK

7. Preparatory Commission

To prepare recommendations on such matters as budget estimates, financial regulations, staff regulations, liquidation of the League, location of the permanent headquarters of the Organization, and prepare for the first session of the General Assembly, and other organs of the new Organization. Each country should be represented.

OK

We feel this preparatory Commission should be organized promptly and might well meet in London, as no meetings relative to the new Organization have been held in the United Kingdom. (We have had two and two have taken place in the Soviet Union.)

Do you approve?

III. Relations with Brazil

Following discussions with Veloso, we recommend a four point program:

1. We will support Brazil for the first two year seat for an American Republic on the Security Council (they will then drop their request for a permanent seat.)

OK

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (G)

Dept. of State letter Aug. 10, 1972

By ~~SP-7~~ NAME Date 6-26-76~~TOP SECRET~~

- 4 -

2. Subject to approval by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, we favor a Brazilian declaration of war on Japan and their sending a token unit to participate in the Pacific War.

OK

3. Implementation of the current staff talks.

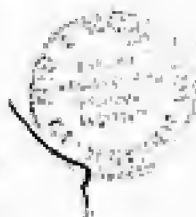
4. When you receive Veloso, you should suggest to him holding the Conference this fall to implement the Act of Chapultepec in Rio and that an appropriate announcement then be made.-

} Rio

Do you approve?

IV. Visit to the United States of Canadian Prime Minister

You have extended an invitation to Mackenzie King to visit Washington before June 11 (Canadian Election Day). We understand confidentially that Mackenzie King would find it embarrassing to visit Washington prior to the election, but that he would on the other hand find it helpful to return to San Francisco at the end of the Conference to sign the Charter. Would it be satisfactory to you if his visit to Washington were postponed until some later date?



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E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 3(F) or (G)

Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1971

By ATM, NAME Date 6-26-75



SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

JUNE 1, 1945

W.D.L.
57



TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STETTINIUS, SAN FRANCISCO

Mr. Grew has informed me of the message he received from you relative to closing the conference as soon as possible. I assume that was written before our telephone conversation in which we reached the conclusion that it would be unwise to press too strenuously because of resentment which might be created with the other countries which might jeopardize the final outcome of our great undertaking. Moreover, I am sure you realize that much of the delay that we have encountered is because Gromyko has not received his instructions from Moscow on open items. In our conversation I promised to give you an estimated closing date as soon as possible.

The procedure we are following, which was agreed upon among the sponsors prior to the conference, is to have five power consultations on important substantive questions prior to bringing them to a solution in the conference itself. Presently there are a group of such questions on which the five powers have not completed these consultations, including a clarification of the voting procedure in the security council as applied to questions such as the ratification of amendments, the election of the Secretary General and Deputy Secretary Generals, and the election of the judges of the court. An effort is also being made to specify the parts of the charter on which voting will not require unanimity on the part of the five great powers.

Other

B File

- 2 -



Other matters under five power consultation are expulsion, the method of negotiating agreements for provision of armed forces, a French amendment on the provision relating to treaty arrangements with respect to the renewal of aggression by the enemy states in this war, the preamble, and the preparatory commission. Most of these issues we believe will be solved without undue difficulty once the voting issue is clarified. We are working day and night on all of these problems. Yesterday I held a long meeting with Ambassador Gromyko on this subject but we are still awaiting a definite response from the Soviets on the voting issue. Tonight a big five meeting is scheduled at 9 in my apartment.

Meanwhile, there are various technical matters still being debated in the committees of the conference or being drafted in subcommittees. Also, we are pushing ahead with the public meetings of commissions at which the various committees report on their work. In addition, the coordination committee is drafting provisions of the final charter in treaty form as soon as the committees and commissions finish with individual parts of the charter. All of these things, as you know, do take time and there will be various technical questions such as the careful preparation of authentic translations of the final charter in the other four official languages, French, Spanish, Chinese and Russian. Consequently, I do not believe that without a good deal of whip-cracking we can count on adjournment before the 14th or 15th of June.

Therefore, if entirely convenient to you, may we set June 15 as our goal for final adjournment.

B. F. H.

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E.O. 11652, Sec. 302 and 303 of (C)

Dept. of State Letter, Aug. 10, 1972

By 616-45 NAME Date 26-75

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

June 2, 1945

~~TOP SECRET~~

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STETTINIUS, SAN FRANCISCO



At the Big Five meeting in my office this morning the following developments occurred:

1. VOTING PROCEDURE. I stated clearly and explicitly that the U.S. finds the Soviet interpretation of the Yalta formula as applied to discussion and consideration of a dispute by the council to be wholly unacceptable. I pointed out that it has always been the understanding of this government that no member may veto the discussion by the council of any subject and that we have stated this position publicly on several occasions since I first announced it in Mexico City. Our position was firmly supported by the British, Chinese, and French. Gromyko replied that the Russian position is equally firm but that he would report the stand of the other powers to his government. He made great play of the paragraph in the Soviet statement quoted in my telegram to you of this morning to the effect that there are no grounds whatever to fear that the sponsoring powers would actually use the right conferred upon them by the charter to block discussion

B. File

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

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discussion in the council. //

2. REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AGAINST ENEMY STATES. The revised paragraph VIII, C, 2 quoted in my telegram to you of this morning was approved by all the delegations except the Soviets who said they would give it further study.

3. AMENDMENT PROCEDURE. Since no agreement could be reached on a proposal for meeting the very considerable opposition which has arisen in the conference to the sponsoring powers' "constitutional convention" amendment as it now stands, it was agreed to refer the matter to an ad hoc subcommittee of the Big Five which would attempt to find a satisfactory formula. The Soviets, however, appeared not to be ready to make any concession whatsoever, though the British gave the impression that they would be willing to do so.

4. TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. It was agreed that the five powers would stand on the original Dumbarton Oaks language of Chapter XII, paragraph 1, except that France would be included among the nations responsible for maintaining the peace during the transitional period.

5. NOMINATION OF JUDGES. It was agreed that the nomination
of judges

B File

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

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of judges of the international court by the security council should be by a procedural vote.

6. NOMINATION OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL. It was agreed that, although a technical committee of the conference had voted that the Secretary General should be nominated by a vote of any seven members of the council, the Big Five should press for reconsideration and for nomination by a qualified vote including the concurrence of all the permanent members of the council.

The chiefs of the five delegations are meeting again in my office this afternoon to continue the consideration of the open issues before the conference.

STETTINIUS

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REPLACES FILED
E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 3(D) or (E)
Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1972
By SP-5/PL, NAME Date 6-26-75

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

June 2, 1945

~~TOP SECRET~~

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STETTINIUS, SAN FRANCISCO



The following is my daily message to you on developments of the conference:

1. VOTING PROCEDURE. As I informed you on the telephone this morning, the Soviets have refused to accept our interpretation of the Yalta formula which would permit discussion and consideration of a dispute by the Council as a procedural matter. Gromyko has presented a drastic revision of the "statement by the delegations of the four sponsoring governments" on this subject which I have previously transmitted to you. The first paragraph of the Soviet revision reads as follows:

"The sense of Yalta decision is quite clear and is as follows: The unanimity of the permanent members of the security council is required on all matters, which may be submitted to a vote in the security council excepting purely procedural matters mentioned in Section D, chapter VI and special cases provided for by paragraph 3, section C, chapter VI. Thus all the matters enumerated in section A,

chapter VIII

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

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chapter VIII require the unanimity of permanent members provided that a member being a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting." The Soviet paper then goes on, incorporating in their new paragraph 1 all the previous paragraph 2 except the last sentence, "It is likely that several other important decisions of the council will also be governed by a procedural vote.", which is stricken out. The Soviets then insert a new paragraph 2 to the effect that this formula has been worked out in the course of prolonged conversations among the sponsoring governments at Dumbarton Oaks and the Yalta, that it is to the interest of small nations to see established an organization suitable to the great powers, that non-members of the council may participate in the discussion in the council of any questions specially effecting their interests, and that "there are no grounds whatever to fear that the sponsoring powers . . . would actually use the rights conferred upon them by the charter to block the discussion by the security council on any international dispute effecting the interests of states not members of the council . . . only rare exceptional cases are possible when the permanent members of the council, conscious of their special responsibility for the prestige of the

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON



-3-

of the organization, use their formal right."

The Soviets then insert a new paragraph 3 arguing that a discussion which would not be followed by security action is only likely to discredit the organization, that the discussion of a dispute in the council may well have major political consequences, and that therefore "the question, whether a dispute should be considered, in no way can be termed a procedural matter". The Soviets then strike out paragraphs 3 and 4 of the statement which I transmitted to you and retain the remaining paragraphs exactly as they were.

I reported to the US delegation this morning my conversation with you and Mr. Hull. The delegation agreed unanimously that the Soviet position is completely unacceptable and that the Soviets must be so informed categorically and firmly at this morning's meeting of the Big Five. It was pointed out in the course of the discussion that the point at issue is a question of interpretation which does not necessarily have to be reflected in the charter itself. It might be possible, therefore, even though obviously undesirable, to come to agreement on a text of the charter along the lines of

the Dumbarton Oaks

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON



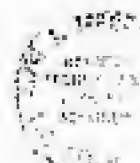
-4-

the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and the Yalta formula, even though there should not be complete agreement upon the interpretation of the latter.

2. REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AGAINST EX-ENEMY STATES. At the Big Five meeting last night there was continued discussion of the French amendments to Chapter VII, C, 2. In view of recent developments in the international field we have seen less reason to make concessions to the French on this point. The Soviets and British, however, tended to support the French point of view and it was agreed that, since the difference seemed to be one of language rather than of substance, we should continue to endeavor to find a formula. Pursuant to that decision we are presenting at the Big Five meeting this morning a suggestion which would leave the present paragraph VIII, C, 2 as it stands, except for the substitution of the word "request" for the word "consent" and would add to that paragraph the following sentence: "After the organization is charged with the responsibility above indicated, nothing in the charter will prevent the continued existence of such regional arrangements subject to the requirement of the council's authorization for the taking of enforcement measures".

3. AGREEMENT

D. L. H. C.

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3. AGREEMENT FOR THE PROVISION OF FORCES. Paragraph VIII, B, 5 on this subject as presented at the Big Five meeting last night would include a reference to "rights of passage" among the facilities to be provided and would state that the agreements should indicate not only the "numbers and type" of forces but also "their degree of readiness and general location". The last two sentences of the paragraph would read as follows: "The special agreement or agreements should be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the security council and concluded between the security council and member states or groups of member states. All such agreements should be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their constitutional processes."

This paragraph as revised was satisfactory to all of the Big Five except that the Soviets did not wish to refer to "rights of passage". It was agreed, however, that the paragraph would be referred to the appropriate technical committee of the conference and that each member of the Big Five would be free to take an independent position in regard to it.

4. AMENDMENT PROCEDURE. The Soviet, British and French all opposed the proposal which the US delegation had agreed to support providing

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providing specifically in the charter that the so-called constitutional convention shall be called within not less than seven or more than ten years after the establishment of the organization. The Soviets, furthermore, objected to the proposal whereby this convention could be called at the request of two-thirds rather than three-fourths of the members of the organization. This will be discussed further at the Big Five meeting this morning.

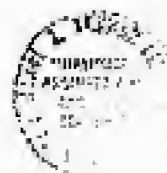
5. STEERING COMMITTEE. It was agreed at the Big Five meeting last night that a meeting of the steering committee would be held on Monday and that the first item on the agenda would be the admission of Denmark to the Conference.

The US delegation believes that, in view of the present deadlock on the voting procedure, it is of even greater importance to proceed with the greatest possible expedition on the remaining business of the conference in order not to give the impression that the conference has bogged down as a result of this deadlock. It was therefore agreed that every effort should be made to terminate the work of the technical committees of the conference at the earliest possible moment and to take the remaining controversial issues up to the

steering

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WASHINGTON



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committee on this subject yesterday no agreement was reached on those two of the five proposed Soviet amendments which continue to be outstanding. One of these is paragraph B, 5 which the Soviets wish to exclude altogether. We have, however, in the meantime reached substantial agreement with the Arab delegations on a paragraph 5 which would read as follows:

"Until such time as territories are placed under trusteeship by subsequent individual agreements, made under paragraphs 3, 4 and 6 and except as may be provided in such subsequent agreements, nothing in this chapter should be construed in and of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples."

The second point at issue is the Russian determination to insert a reference in the paragraph on basic objectives to the "right for self-determination" of the inhabitants of trust territories. We have no objection to this reference but the British so far absolutely refuse to accept it.

Discussions on these two issues are continuing over the weekend and Commander Stassen is still hopeful that they can be ironed out. In the meantime, the technical committee of the conference is

proceeding

B. F. H.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

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to approve the various noncontroversial paragraphs of the working paper.

8. WORK OF THE COMMITTEES OF THE CONFERENCE. Technical committees yesterday took the following steps:

A. The following revised form of the Australian pledge was approved 34 to 1, Venezuela voting against:

"All members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the organization for the achievement of these purposes."

B. Compulsory jurisdiction. The technical committee yesterday approved 30 to 14 a paragraph of the statute of the court providing for optional rather than compulsory jurisdiction.

STETTINIUS



5. File

Secretary's
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E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(2) and 3(3) or (3)

Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1972

By SP-6 NAME Date 6-26-75

~~TOP SECRET~~

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

June 2, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

In accordance with the wishes of the Secretary,
I am sending immediately to Ambassador Harriman in
Moscow the attached telegram containing the text of
the message received from Mr. Stettinius this after-
noon.

Joseph E. Gurnea

Acting Secretary

RECEIVED
JUN 2 1945
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

Enclosure:

Message from Secretary
Stettinius for Ambassador
Harriman

~~TOP SECRET~~

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EO. 11652, Sec. 3(C) and 3(D) or (E)

Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1972

By W. H. HARR Date 7-6-75

NO STENCIL NO DISTRIBUTION

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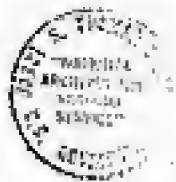
ANEMBASSY,

MOSCOW.



The Secretary has asked that the following most important and urgent message (Topsecret for the Ambassador and Hopkins) be sent you for immediate action.

QUOTE. We have reached a very serious crisis in the Conference in San Francisco. Gromyko told the meeting of Heads of five principal delegations last night that the Soviet Government would not agree to permit even QUOTE consideration and discussion UNQUOTE of any dispute or threatening situation brought before the proposed security council unless formal decision by seven members of the council including the unanimous vote of the five permanent members was taken. We and the other three Governments have taken the position that veto power should apply the moment the council begins to take action even if the first step in the action is a decision to investigate or to make a recommendation. We have maintained however that up to the point of such action no individual member of the council should be in a position to stop the consideration and discussion of a dispute brought before the



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council. The Soviet proposal carries the principle of the veto against any action not only through the section providing for enforcement action and recommendations as to peaceful means of settlement of disputes but even to the right of a single nation to prevent any consideration and discussion of a dispute. We feel that this would make a farce of the whole proposed world organization.

I have reported this development to the President and he confirms my own feeling as well as that of the U.S. Delegation that the United States could not possibly accept an organization subject to such a restricted procedure which would be entirely contrary to the spirit of the security organization we have had in mind and have been presenting to the American people. The heads of the three other delegations of the five powers have at a meeting this morning stated their position as exactly similar to ours. Neither is it likely that any other of the nations would accept such an organization, and of course we ourselves could not possibly put them or ourselves in the position of even asking the members of the Conference to join an organization subject to such tight and futile restrictions, I stated our position on freedom of consideration and discussion by the security council in a public statement



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in Mexico City at the close of that Conference early in March and the Acting Secretary in a public statement on March 24 was also explicit in this regard. There has never been any reaction from the Soviet Government which indicated that they had a contrary view until Gromyko's statement of last night.

With the President's approval I am bringing this matter to your attention urgently. I know that in the past Marshal Stalin did not know himself of some of the decisions that were being taken and communicated to us. I feel therefore that it would be most helpful if you and Harry could meet with Marshal Stalin as soon as possible and ask him whether he realizes fully what the instructions sent to Gromyko mean and what effect the Soviet proposal would have upon the character of the world organization we are all trying to work out. Please tell him in no uncertain words that this country could not possibly join an organization based on so unreasonable an interpretation of the provision of the great powers in the security council. Please tell him that we are just as anxious as he is to build the organization on the foundation of complete unity among the great powers but it must be unity of action in the light of a maximum of free discussion. At no stage in our discussions relative to the creation of the world organization at

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Dumbarton Oaks or at Yalta or at any other time was a provision ever contemplated which would make impossible freedom of discussion in the council or the assembly. This is a wholly new and impossible interpretation.

Please let me know when you think you can put this up to Stalin and when you can give me some word as to his reaction since we will have to take the necessary steps to wind up the conference here if we have nothing favorable from you in this regard. UNQUOTE.



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No paraphrase necessary

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E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 3(D) or (G)

Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1973

By ~~ALL-ALL~~ NARS Date 6-26-75

SAN FRANCISCO

DATED JUNE 8, 1945

REC'D 5:10 a.m.



TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPPINIUS, UNCIO, SAN FRANCISCO

1. June 8

The following is my daily message to you on developments at the conference:

1. Voting procedure. At the request of Ambassador Gromyko a meeting of

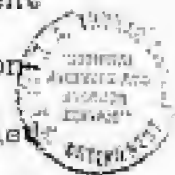
the Big Five was held in my office this afternoon, he having previously informed me that he had received his instructions on the subject of voting procedure. At this meeting he announced that the Soviet Government, "in the interest of unanimity among the major powers and in order to speed the work of the conference" agrees that the veto shall not apply to the consideration and discussion of disputes under paragraph 2, section (A) chapter VIII, the Ambassador added that to carry out this interpretation an adaption of the draft statement of May 26 of the four sponsoring governments is necessary in order to prevent further attempts to obtain exceptions for other paragraphs of section VIII, (A) and with respect to other questions on which the Council would vote. A subcommittee of the Big Five is therefore meeting again this evening in order to work out a redraft of this statement.

As soon as I learned from Ambassador Gromyko that he had received his instructions I immediately called a meeting of the Steering Committee which was held immediately after the meeting of the Big Five. I announced to the Steering Committee that complete agreement had been reached among the four sponsoring powers and France upon an interpretation of the voting procedure under which

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E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(D) and 5(D) or (E)

Dept. of State Instr. Aug. 10, 1972

By ALL INFORMATION HAS BEEN Date 4-24-75~~TOP SECRET~~~~TOP SECRET~~

-2-#1, June 8 from UNCIO

under which no single state would be able to prevent the hearing, discussion and consideration of a dispute by the Security Council. This announcement was greeted, as were my subsequent statements, with warm applause. I continued by pointing out that this agreement on this central point justified the faith and confidence which we had all had that our high endeavor at San Francisco would be successfully carried out. I urged that all delegations now bend their energies to bringing the work of the conference to a satisfactory conclusion at the earliest possible time and expressed the hope that it might be possible to do so within about ten days. The fact that the Big Five had reached agreement upon this vital issue and that I had come directly from the Big Five meeting to announce this successful outcome to the chiefs of all the delegations created an extremely favorable impression. We intend to take advantage of this propitious atmosphere to expedite the work of the committees and commissions of the conference in every appropriate way and to maintain the feeling of harmony and general satisfactory which now exists.

2. Executive Committee. At its meeting this morning the Executive Committee agreed to recommend to the Steering Committee that the question of expulsion should be referred back to the appropriate technical committee for consideration.

3. Work of committees of the conference.

A. United Nations. The technical committee approved unanimously and by acclamation with all the delegates standing the name "United Nations" for the new international organization.

B. International law

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E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(D) and 5(D) or (E)
Dept. of State letter, Aug. 10, 1972
By SP-1 JAC PLANS Date 6-26-81

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B. International law. A technical committee approved a recommendation of the U.S. that a clause which had been approved by a subcommittee authorizing the General Assembly to make recommendations for the "revision of international law" should be altered to refer to the "progressive development of international law."

STETTINIUS



85-13

Thursday,
June 14th, 1945

My dear Mr. President:

As a working newspaperman, covering the San Francisco conference, I have again been disillusioned by the obvious and glaring mistakes perpetrated by our (meaning US) representatives. I mean, specifically, our omission and commission on the veto-power steamrollering, "trusteeships," and the conduct of the conference generally.

Even more distressing, however, were the reports (presumably accurate) from your press conference of yesterday in Washington in which you were quoted as urging correspondents not to "muddy the waters" insofar as US-USSR relations are concerned.

Again, Mr. President, as a working newspaperman and foreign correspondent and only incidentally as an admirer of your Senatorial work and your record since taking your present office, I want to register a most vigorous personal protest against our (meaning US) present policy vis-a-vis the USSR, especially with regard to eastern Europe. As I told you on election night in your suite in the Machlebach (Bob St. John and I had a chat with you just before you retired for the night) an extremely strong hand is needed at this moment in our Eastern European policy-making. The alternative is war with the Soviet Union, via a series of Anglo-Soviet clashes in the Balkans and Near East within the next very few years. The Anglo-French quarrel in the Levant is only a curtain-raiser and serves, as you know, to mask the real situation.

Since weeks before November, 1943, the United States has pursued a policy of hurried improvisation towards the USSR which has a sharp, concrete policy for all the world to see.

MORE

2/Mr. Truman

As correspondent for the New York Times in the Balkans and Near and Middle East, I witnessed the beginnings of these bootless policies at first hand. I witnessed, as well, our (meaning US, again) callous sell-out of those pitifully few Balkan peoples who had the courage to stand by us at a moment when our outlook was desperate. I have, since, witnessed the shocking spectacle of the United States -- upon whom hangs the hope and the fate of most of the peoples of Europe and Asia -- scrambling in disorderly retreat before the calculated, systematic advance of the USSR, not only in eastern Europe but in Asia.

In my opinion, Mr. President, there is possibly one chance in one thousand that the United States may yet avert catastrophe for the United States and the world. This chance rests upon our recognition now of the necessity of implementing a vigorous, well-nigh inflexible policy vis-a-vis the USSR wherever our policies (including our intertwined understandings with the United Kingdom) may come into conflict. This, naturally, includes: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Yugoslavia, Greece, Bulgaria, Roumania, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, India, Manchuria, Korea and Japan and mandated islands. The outcome, ultimately, is up to you.

I don't know any better means of bringing this opinion before you. And I can assure you that this is not the opinion of one observer alone. I trust, Mr. President, that this reaches you personally -- and before your flight to San Francisco.

Yours very truly,

Ray Brock

Ray Brock

c/o Walter Duranty,
7111 Hilleide,
Hollywood, Calif.



June 19, 1945

Dear Mr. Brock:

As you of course know, the President has left Washington for the Pacific Coast to address the closing session of the San Francisco Conference, and in his absence and that of Mr. Charles Ross, press secretary, who accompanied him, I am writing to acknowledge your letter of June fourteenth.

I regret this was not received in time to permit consideration of it before the President's departure. I do want to thank you for writing and to tell you that I shall be glad to see that, at the first opportunity, your letter is made available to him.

Sincerely yours,

EDITH A. ATERS
Assistant to MR. ROSS

Mr. Ray Brock
c/o Walter Dureaty
7111 Hillside
Hollywood, California

EAA:shk

